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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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Editorial

ANOTHER COMING EVENT

We are now well started in the year 1934. It is time for us all to be looking ahead and making plans for 1935. Preparations are already well in hand for another bimillennial celebration. No one of those who went on the Vergil pilgrimage and participated in the Vergilian cruise of 1930 or 1931 can ever forget the joyous satisfaction of visiting the scenes made famous by the greatest of Rome's epic poets — Mantua, Rome, Naples, Carthage, Troy, and the rest.

Next year Vergil's *animae dimidium*, Rome's greatest lyric poet, will be two thousand years old, and Horace must have a birthday party no less enjoyable and no less instructive to those who attend than was the *Bimillennium Vergilianum* to the pilgrims of the former cruises.

Vergil, no doubt, is the greater poet and is more extensively taught in high schools. But Horace is the more human, the more modern — more like ourselves. And what student or teacher of Latin, however much he may *revere* the mighty Vergil, does not after all really *love* Horace more dearly than any other Roman that ever lived and long to see with his own eyes the scenes immortalized by snatches of Horatian song?

What visitor approaching Rome down the valley of the Tiber does not crane his neck out of the car window to catch the first sight and the last of Mt. Soracte — which would have not the slightest interest in the world, were it not for

Vides ut alta stet nive candida
Soracte?

Or who walking through the Forum does not automatically repeat *Ibam forte Via Sacra*? And think of the joys of wandering with Horace over the "black Esquiline"; enjoying a week-end party with him and Vergil and Maecenas at his Sabine villa and drinking from his Bandusian Spring and his cool Digentia; traveling with him over at least a part of the Appian Way to "fishy Barium"; climbing up the first slopes of Apulian Vultur above Venusia with the

non sine dis animosus infans;

studying at Athens for a few days with him and young Marcus Cicero; experiencing with him

. . . Philippos et celerem fugam

. . . relictâ non bene parmula;

and praising with him on the scenes

. . . claram Rhodon aut Mitylenen,

Aut Ephesum, bimarisque Corinthi

Moenia, vel Baccho Thebas vel Apolline Delphos

Insignis, aut Thessala Tempe;

gathering *pulverem Olympicum* with him at Olympia itself; beholding *ditisque Mycenae* and *Troia usta* and *renascens*; sitting on the throne of King Minos *splendida faciens arbitria* for the *centum potentem oppidis Creten*; and visiting many other places made the more famous by a touch of Horace's verse.

Such are the plans already heralded by Willis A. Ellis in the JOURNAL for last June and now maturing for a Horatian Cruise and Pilgrimage in the summer of 1935 sponsored by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South and the American Classical League in cooperation with the Bureau of University Travel. In richness of experience and in pure enjoyment the *Bimillennium Horatianum* ought to surpass even the *Bimillennium Vergilianum*. Let us keep it in mind and build our hopes and plans for a share in it.

W. M.

VOCABULARY DENSITY IN HIGH SCHOOL LATIN¹

By W. L. CARR
Teachers College, Columbia University

A former teacher of mine always had ready a stock answer to the cheerful self-diagnosis of a student to the effect that he was getting along all right with his Latin "except for the vocabulary." "Yes," this teacher would say in very sympathetic tones, "and language does consist so largely of words, doesn't it?"

A good many years of experience as a student and teacher of Latin have only strengthened in me a belief that language, even the Latin language, consists much more largely of words than it does of grammatical forms or syntactical principles or any other of those elements which we are accustomed to single out for purposes of study or instruction.

A corollary of that proposition may be stated as follows: All other things being equal (which, of course, they never really are), the reading difficulty of a given passage of Latin or of any other language can be quite accurately measured by its vocabulary *burden*; that is, by the proportion of *unfamiliar* words to the *running* words in the passage. At an early stage in an individual's experience in reading a given language the vocabulary burden of a passage will correspond very closely to the vocabulary *density*, that is, the proportion of *different* words to the *running* words.

Let me illustrate. Suppose a given passage contains a total of 1000 running words but only 100 different words; the vocabulary *density* would be stated as 1:10. Suppose further that of these 100 different words 50 are unfamiliar and 50 are familiar to the reader; the vocabulary *burden* would be stated as 1:20.

Let us take a specific illustration from a classical author. In the

¹ Read at the meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South at Williamsburg, Virginia, April 14, 1933.

first twenty-nine chapters of Caesar's *Gallic War* there are 4053 running words and 971 different words; the vocabulary density is therefore approximately 1:4. If we assume that the reader is already familiar with the 454 words from the Hurlbutt and Allen first year list² which appear in this passage, the vocabulary *burden* is approximately 1:8.

The problem of vocabulary *burden* has long been recognized by teachers of secondary Latin, and various methods have been employed to help the pupil bear that burden. One desperate device would be to insist on the pupil's learning every word as it appears in a reading assignment, a method caricatured in the story of the Greek professor who is said to have urged his students to learn a certain Greek verb thoroughly as "it was the first and last time that the word appeared in all Greek literature." An opposite extreme is just to trust to luck, in the hope that all the really important words will be looked up often enough to make conscious effort to learn them unnecessary.

This latter method, if it can be called a method, may well be dubbed the "dictionary-thumbing" or "finger-exercise" method and is, I fear, largely in vogue in spite of the fact that more than twenty-five years ago Dr. Lodge prepared the way for a partial solution of this problem as far as the vocabulary of high-school Latin is concerned. The results of Lodge's study,³ first published in 1907, have guided the selection of vocabulary for practically every first-year book published since that date, and the official Latin word lists of such agencies as the College Entrance Examination Board are largely based on his findings. Only more recently have makers of second-, third-, and fourth-year Latin textbooks made any serious efforts to organize the results of Dr. Lodge's study into appropriate teaching devices.

Meantime tendencies to depart from the traditional standard course have made these results less applicable than they were in 1907. For the Lodge word count was based exclusively on Cae-

² Hurlbutt and Allen, *A Latin Vocabulary for First and Second Years*: American Book Company (1928).

³ Lodge, Gonzalez, *The Vocabulary of High School Latin*: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College (1907).

sar's *Gallic War* I-V; Cicero's *Catiline* I-IV, *Archias*, and *Pompey*; and Vergil's *Aeneid* I-VI, whereas almost all recently published textbooks include a much wider range of selections from a greater variety of Latin authors. This fact makes it necessary for teachers, textbook makers, and those responsible for official word lists to study anew the problem of vocabulary density. Furthermore Dr. Lodge himself made no claim to having solved the problem. He did, however, furnish some valuable data and made some excellent suggestions for the solution of the problem as it then existed.

We Latinists need not feel unduly embarrassed if we have not yet completely solved this problem; for it is only recently that serious scientific studies have begun to supplant guesswork in the preparation of reading material for pupils learning to read English and other modern languages at various levels of difficulty.

Most of our great-grandfathers learned to read English by struggling with passages from the King James Bible or with so-called primers not much better suited to the purpose either in vocabulary or in thought content. Our children are learning to read English by the use of scientifically graded first readers with a vocabulary burden of about 1:50. Our fathers and most of us learned to do what we euphemistically called reading Latin by attacking, with little or no previous reading experience in the language, the first chapter of Caesar's *Gallic War* with its 98 different words to its 178 running words (i.e., with a vocabulary density of 1 to less than 2) and we continued the struggle through the first four books with an average vocabulary density of 1:10. No one blames Caesar personally for this situation. His narrative was not designed primarily as a first Latin reader for American boys and girls. For that matter it was not designed as a first Latin reader for Roman boys and girls. And even if Caesar or some other Roman had prepared a really good first Latin reader for Roman children and if that book had survived to our day, it would not be suitable for American boys and girls of the junior-high-school age. For, although the vocabulary burden might be light enough, the thought content would be too imma-

ture to make the book usable in our Latin classes. Teachers of modern foreign languages meet the same difficulty in their efforts to use with American secondary school pupils first readers which have been prepared for use in the primary grades in foreign countries. These readers may have solved the vocabulary problem, but the thought content is too juvenile for American adolescents. On the other hand, more advanced foreign language readers may have a suitable thought content, but the vocabulary burden of these books is too heavy for American beginners.

Michael West⁴ encountered this same difficulty in his attempt to use British or American first readers to teach ten-year-old Bengali boys to read English. He is now solving his problem by selecting English stories sufficiently mature in content for ten-year-olds and then working over the text in such a fashion as to reduce the average vocabulary density to something like 1:50. For his more advanced pupils, for example, Dr. West has prepared an edition of Stevenson's *Treasure Island* that requires a reading vocabulary of only 1779 words. Dr. West mentioned this edition in an address at Columbia University a year or two ago and some one in the audience arose to criticize him for so "mutilating" an English classic. All that Dr. West said in reply was that he had asked a professor of English literature to read through his adapted edition and that this professor had failed to discover that any changes had been made in the original text. It is surprising how well one can get along with a writing vocabulary of 1779 words — or of half that number, as Professor Ogden⁵ has shown with the basic English vocabulary of 850 words.

A recently published first reader in French⁶ prepared for the use of American pupils in accordance with the West plan described above achieves an average vocabulary density of 1:56. Each story begins with the statement "You now know

⁴ West, *Language and Education*: Longmans, Green and Co. (1929); and *Construction of Reading Material for Teaching a Foreign Language*: University of Dacca (1927).

⁵ Ogden, *Basic English*: London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Thurber and Co. (1932).

⁶ Cochran and Eddy, *Si Nous Lisions*: University of Chicago Press (1930).

words." New words are then introduced at the rate of only three or four to a page. These words are immediately repeated several times in the text and also become the objects of special drill at the end of the story in which they are thus functionally introduced. The meaning of any unfamiliar words, whose use is demanded by the plot of the story but has a low frequency, is given in parentheses upon its first appearance in the story. Words so explained are disregarded in the computation of the vocabulary density and the pupil is not expected to make any conscious effort to learn them.

In this same series of French readers there is an abridged and adapted edition of *Sans Famille*⁷ to be used for supplementary or extensive reading. This whole book of 100 pages requires a reading vocabulary of only 357 different words and 41 idioms. The regular school edition of this same French story has a vocabulary of approximately 2500 words.

These examples of really easy readers from the field of English for foreigners and of a modern foreign language for English speaking pupils make us realize how far from easy is the reading material found even in such Latin books as Lhomond's *Viri Romae* or Ritchie's *Fabulae Faciles*, which are the immediate source of much of the reading material included in recently published first- and second-year Latin textbooks. *Viri Romae* has a vocabulary density of about 1:6 and *Fabulae Faciles* a vocabulary density of about 1:8. Even Reed's *Julia* has a vocabulary density of about 1:7. Whatever relative easiness, therefore, these Latin readers have achieved is mostly chargeable to simplified sentence structure or to easy thought content rather than to the lightening of vocabulary burden; for the vocabulary burden of these so-called easy readers differs only slightly from the vocabulary burden of a similar amount of Caesar or Cicero.

I am not offering this fact as an argument for a return to straight Caesar as suitable reading material for pupils who are beginning their second year's work in Latin. Rather do I con-

⁷ Meade, Cochran and Eddy, *Sans Famille*: University of Chicago Press (1931).

sider it a potent argument for the preparation of reading material which is really easy on the vocabulary side. For no matter how interesting the content or how simple the sentence structure, *no* reading material in any language can fairly be called easy, if it presents a vocabulary burden anything like as heavy as 1:8, the average ratio of unfamiliar words to running words in the first twenty-nine chapters of the *Gallic War* taken as a unit; or even a vocabulary burden of 1:14, the ratio for Books I-IV taken as a unit.

Of course something can be done through the use of glosses or footnotes to reduce the burden presented by the unmodified text of any of the classical authors commonly read. One such attempt is that made by Professor Pharr in his "visible vocabulary" edition of the first six books of the *Aeneid*,⁸ in which the meaning of every word on every page is explained either at the bottom of that page or in an extensible sheet at the back of the book. A similar but less thoroughgoing device was first employed, I believe, by Professor Walker⁹ in his 1907 edition of Caesar's *Gallic War*. In this book there is given at the bottom of the page the meaning of each word upon its first appearance in the book. Except for pupils with an unusual amount of mucilage in their brains, this device is helpful only for words which appear once and only once. It is true that these once-only words constitute no small part of the vocabulary of any given reading unit taken from a classical author. In the first twenty-nine chapters of the *Gallic War*, for example, 511 of the 971 different words appear but once, and according to Dr. Lodge's conservative count, there are 1347 words which occur but once in the entire reading content of the traditional standard course. These ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, therefore, constitute 30% of the total vocabulary of 4650 words listed by Dr. Lodge for the traditional standard course. An even higher proportion of once-only words exists in the reading content of any one year of the course in secondary Latin taken by itself.

✓ Some simple and effective method, it seems to me, should be

⁸ Pharr, *Vergil's Aeneid*: D. C. Heath and Company (1930).

⁹ Walker, *Caesar's Gallic War*: Scott, Foresman and Co. (1907).

adopted by textbook makers to supply the pupil with the meaning of each such word, unless, of course, its meaning is presumably already known or is obvious to the pupil from the context or from its similarity in form and meaning to some English or Latin word which the pupil presumably already knows. And I say obvious *to the pupil* — not merely to his teacher or to a trained philologist.

And if it is justifiable or even desirable to supply the pupil with the meaning of a Latin word which occurs but once in a given reading unit, what about a word which occurs but twice? Or even three times? Or suppose the maker of a textbook knows that a given word is to appear many times in the reading material of that particular book, might he not be justified in supplying the pupil directly with the meaning of that word on the occasion of its first and second and even third appearances? Even so there is no danger that we shall make "mollycoddles" of our pupils; there will be problems enough left for solution even when the vocabulary difficulties have been reduced to a minimum. So far as I know, it has never been proved that the "finger exercises" involved in looking up in the general vocabulary just one new word after another supply any real aid or furnish any powerful incentive toward mastering the meaning of these words. On the contrary, it is a well-established fact that the less distraction there is in the reading process the better and that the less the reader's eye is diverted from the line of Latin being read the better. Perhaps then it isn't "original sin" but good amateur psychology that leads our pupils to construct interlinears for themselves or to purchase them ready made. I myself have somewhat reluctantly become convinced that the best technique for presenting an unfamiliar word to the pupil for the first, second, or third time would be to explain its meaning in italics and in parentheses right after the word, so that the eye of the reader may continue to move along the line from left to right and will not have to move up or down even a line's width or a page's length — and least of all will have to make a round trip journey to and from the back of the book. The obvious loss in time and

energy which the last named procedure involves is serious enough, but still more serious is the attendant distraction of eye and mind, which all but prevents the pupils from acquiring good reading habits. And this distraction is quite as serious a handicap for the pupil who is trying to read *indirectly* through translation as for the pupil who is trying to read *directly* (i.e., to read his Latin as Latin and in the Latin order).

The technique just proposed for lightening the vocabulary burden is most easily applied to reading material that is "made" or adapted. A typical page of unmodified Latin text selected from Caesar, Cicero, or Vergil, prepared in accordance with this technique, would look as if it had suffered from smallpox, and it would possibly cause more distraction than it would prevent, unless the pupil could somehow bring to the reading of that selection a much more adequate basic vocabulary than our present methods provide for him. For example, a pupil who has mastered only the present official word list for the first year will in reading the first twenty-nine chapters of the *Gallic War* meet 453 familiar words and 518 words which he has never seen before or having seen has not mastered. And the pupil who has mastered only the present official word list for the first two years will in reading the first oration against Catiline meet 398 familiar words and 447 unfamiliar words. And the pupil who has mastered only the present official word list for the first three years will in reading the first 489 lines of the *Aeneid* (an amount equivalent in running words to the first oration against Catiline) meet 513 familiar words and 666 unfamiliar words.

That is to say, a pupil who faithfully follows our present plan of teaching vocabulary will in reading his first selection from any given classical author meet more unfamiliar than familiar words; whereas, in view of the difficulties sure to be presented by the various forms and the special meanings of many words, not to mention the difficulties of sentence structure and thought content, he ought, if possible, to come up to the reading of any such selection equipped with a reading vocabulary which includes all the words used in that selection, except for a comparatively small

number of unusual words, the meaning of each of which can be supplied as it appears in the text. For example, in the reading of the first twenty-nine chapters of Caesar's *Gallic War* the pupil will encounter, as has already been said, a total of 971 different words. The meaning of 56 of these 971 different words is quite obvious and 80 more of them are proper nouns or proper adjectives which present little if any vocabulary difficulty. Of the remaining 835 words 294 occur in the passage three or more times, 252 occur five or more times in Books I-IV of the *Gallic War*, and 171 occur five or more times in the selections from Cicero and Vergil included in the traditional standard course. That is to say, all but 128 of these 835 words will in all probability occur frequently enough in whatever Latin the pupil may read to make them worth learning. What is more to the point, the pupil who comes up to the reading of the first twenty-nine chapters of Caesar's *Gallic War*, equipped with a reading knowledge of these 717 words, and is then given in his textbook legitimate direct assistance on the 128 less frequently used words as they occur, will have a fighting chance to read this selection with pleasure and an increased sense of power, instead of laboriously deciphering it at a cost in time and effort which must often put a severe strain on his faith in its all being worth his while.

In the example just given it was assumed that the pupil's first venture into the unmodified text of a classical author would be the reading straight through of the first twenty-nine chapters of the *Gallic War*. The vocabulary density could, of course, be considerably reduced and the prerequisite vocabulary indicated could be considerably lessened if the textbook maker or teacher should omit or abridge certain chapters, as indeed has been done in some of the recently published second-year books.

The question now arises as to how the pupil is to acquire this more nearly adequate vocabulary for the intensive reading of his first and also his subsequent selections from classical authors. The easy answer, the *too* easy answer, is that the pupil shall be provided in advance with a special word list for each selection or for each chapter to be read and required to learn by rote the mean-

ing or meanings of each word on the list before being allowed to undertake the reading of that selection or chapter. Even if we assume the requisite docility in our pupils, most of us, I believe, would question the wisdom of using such a method. The meaning of a new word is not best learned apart from sentence context, and one of the chief evils with which Latin teachers have to contend is the tendency of pupils to cling desperately to one or two learned responses in the comprehension or translation of a given Latin word.

By all odds a better method, as it seems to me, is to precede the reading of any selection from a classical author with a much more extensive reading experience than we have yet attempted and to use for this reading experience a scientifically constructed reader or series of readers which will provide both functional and formal drill sufficient to give the pupil mastery of a reading vocabulary adequate for the reading of that selection. This preliminary reading might in part consist of "made" Latin, but most of it might well be adapted from classical authors in accordance with the technique employed in the preparation of the special editions of *Sans Famille* and *Treasure Island* referred to above.

Unfortunately our problem is not completely solved when and if we succeed in equipping our pupils with a vocabulary adequate to the reading of one or several selections from Caesar, which we have assumed will be our pupil's first venture into classical Latin.

The mastery of a reading vocabulary for Caesar provides a good start toward the mastery of a reading vocabulary for Cicero, but only a good *start*. Cicero uses, exclusive of proper names, 854 words in the orations commonly read which do not appear at all in *B. G.* I-V, and Vergil in the first six books of the *Aeneid* uses, exclusive of proper names, 618 words which do not appear at all in the traditional Caesar or the traditional Cicero.

The vocabulary density for Cicero's first oration against Catiline is approximately 1:4, with which may be compared the 1:4 density of the same number of running words in Caesar and the 1:3 density of an equivalent amount of Vergil. Under our present plan of teaching, the vocabulary *burdens* of these three passages

are approximately 1:8, 1:8, and 1:5 respectively. Extended reading in the same author gradually reduces both the density and the burden, but even so under our present system the burden remains to the bitter end almost unbearably heavy for each author.

The vocabulary density for the whole Caesar content of the traditional course is 1:10 and the burden 1:14. The vocabulary density for the whole Cicero content of the traditional standard course is approximately 1:9 and the burden approximately 1:12. The vocabulary density for the Vergil content of the traditional standard course is 1:8 and the burden 1:10.6.

Of course the actual burden in each case is alleviated by the fact that most proper names, included in my count, present little or no vocabulary difficulty and that many of the so-called unfamiliar words are so much like familiar words both in form and meaning that they present to the reader little or no distraction. If we count out all proper names and the new words the meaning of which the reader may be supposed to guess from their similarity to known English or Latin words and if we assume that the pupil will read all the Caesar, Cicero, and Vergil included in the traditional standard course, the actual minimum burden for the three authors will be 1:20, 1:16, and 1:17 respectively.

A consistent following up of the plan advocated above for the acquisition of an adequate reading vocabulary for selections from Caesar would also require the use of especially prepared reading material to bridge the gap between Caesar and Cicero and even more such material to bridge the gap between Cicero and Vergil.

One Latin reader on the market represents an effort more adequately to prepare the pupil for the reading of Cicero. I refer to Professor Nutting's *Ad Alpes*.¹⁰ How successful this book has proved in practice I cannot say, but a laboratory analysis reveals the fact that it presents a vocabulary density of 1:16 and a vocabulary burden of 1:24. As far as I know, no one has attempted to provide supplementary reading material definitely designed to equip pupils with a vocabulary adequate to the reading of Vergil. A comparative study of the vocabularies of Cicero and Vergil will

¹⁰ Nutting, *Ad Alpes*: Scott, Foresman and Company (1927).

show anyone why the reading of Cicero is *not* an adequate preparation for the reading of Vergil. I may say in passing that the substitution of Ovid for at least a part of the Cicero commonly read in the third year of the regular four-year course would provide a much better vocabulary for the reading of Vergil as well as a much richer background of mythology. Even so there is need, in my opinion, of a supplementary reader or at any rate of supplementary reading material to prepare pupils to read either Ovid or Vergil beyond that furnished by the most conscientious reading of the usual selections from Caesar and Cicero.

The preparation of extensive supplementary reading material of the sort I have been suggesting would undoubtedly cost its maker or adapter much time and thought and would have to be based on word counts more extensive than Lodge's, excellent and still useful as his book is. It would seem that teachers of English and of the modern foreign languages have decided that the task is worth the doing and are finding time to do it. And if they can do it, so can we. One might even say that if they do it, we must.

This paper has been concerned only with the problem of increasing the pupil's Latin vocabulary as a *sine qua non* for success in reading Latin. If we add to the arguments already submitted as to the value of bigger and better vocabularies, the unquestionable fact that an enlarged Latin vocabulary will yield lifelong dividends in a greatly increased and deeply enriched English vocabulary, the proposed additional investment of time and energy on the part of the pupil would appear to be doubly worth while.

SOME NEEDED RESEARCH IN THE TEACHING OF LATIN *

By MARK E. HUTCHINSON
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Professor Handschin in his *Methods of Teaching Modern Foreign Languages* claims that certain principles of the psychology of learning languages may be considered sufficiently established to warrant their use in pedagogical practice.¹

However, Professor Huse, writing eight years later, states:

Professor Handschin's generous estimate of present experimental knowledge appears hardly confirmed by a close examination of the facts. The number of strictly language experiments has been very limited, the results often conflicting or uncertain, and the necessary conclusions largely negative.²

While Huse has the modern languages largely in mind, a careful survey of the literature on the teaching of Latin has disclosed very few, if any, established principles. To be sure, we have had the Classical Investigation, but the dicta laid down in the Report have either been accepted or rejected by the majority of teachers on a purely subjective basis. For that matter the writers of that Report did not produce nor claim to produce conclusive objective evidence on many doubtful problems. The Report has been rather sharply criticized by Professor Walker on two counts: (1) the recommending of a method for which the tests had supplied no objective basis; (2) the failure of the report to outline definitely the method its writers selected as the basis of all their other

* Read at the twenty-ninth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South at Williamsburg, Va., April 14, 1933.

¹ Chas. H. Handschin, *Methods of Teaching Modern Languages*: Yonkers, World Book Co. (1923), 45-47.

² H. R. Huse, *The Psychology of Foreign Language Study*: Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press (1931), 4.

recommendations.³ I have no desire to damn the Report, for I firmly believe that it has done more to put life into the teaching of Latin than any other single agency. My only purpose in citing Walker's criticism is to stress the necessity of controlled experiments on a large scale before we lay down any hard and fast recommendations as to the best way to teach and learn Latin.

For discussion in this paper I have selected what seemed to me some of the most important problems upon which experimentation is needed. So far as I could find them, I have set forth the experiments which have been made on these various problems with the results therefrom and have suggested the need of further experimentation. The objectives of Latin instruction vary to some extent with the teacher and the kind of school, but the reading objective remains the primary one, and our experimentation should centre about the best means to attain a reading knowledge of Latin. It should be remembered, however, that about 87 per cent of the Latin students of the public high schools of the United States take the subject for two years or less.⁴ Granted that the reading and understanding of Latin is our primary aim, what is the most efficient and economical way to bring about this reading ability not only for students who carry the subject through college but also for the vast majority who study Latin for two years or less? Professor Coleman's recommendation in Volume XII of the Modern Language report⁵ that extensive rather than

³ A. T. Walker, "The Report of the Classical Investigation—A Criticism," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXV (1929), 83-93.

⁴ C. A. Wheeler and Others, *Enrollment in the Foreign Languages in Secondary Schools and Colleges of the U. S.* (Publications of the American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages, Vol. IV): New York, Macmillan Co. (1928), 353.

⁵ Algernon Coleman, *The Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages in the U. S.* (Publications of the American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages, Vol. XII): New York, Macmillan Co. (1929), 121-70.

The chief studies which report the results of extensive versus intensive reading of modern languages are given below. The students were measured by the American Council Tests in Silent Reading and by other standardized tests, and in the main, classes taught by the extensive reading method received the higher scores. In several cases tests in functional grammar were given, and the classes taught by the extensive method compared favorably with those taught by more

intensive reading be practiced and that not so much attention be given to the reproductive abilities (speaking and writing) has brought forth much discussion on the so-called reading method of teaching modern languages. This movement for extensive rather than intensive reading of foreign languages has passed over into the thinking of Latin teachers to some extent.

Mention should perhaps be made of Buswell's study of the eye movements of students reading foreign languages. He found that most students of foreign languages do not make as much progress as they should in (a) widening of the eye spaces, (b) reduction in the number of regressive movements per line, and (c) a shortening of the duration of the fixation pauses. He also reports the results from measuring the eye movements of students of Latin in the University of Chicago High School who are taught by the reading method and comparing them with the eye movements of students selected from the best third-year students of Latin in Chicago schools who have been instructed by the grammar-translation method. He says:

The resulting tables and plates show very strikingly the advantages gained in reading for comprehension by those instructed by a direct (i.e.

orthodox methods. O. F. Bond, "A Reading Technique in Foreign Language Instruction-Structure: Results and Implications," *Modern Language Journal* xiv (1930), 363-74, 532-45; A. G. Bovée, "Grammatical Knowledge and Reading Ability in French," *Journal of Educational Research* ii (1920), 204-12; F. D. Cheydeur, "The Reading Method versus the Eclectic Method in Teaching French," *French Review* iv (1931), 198-214 (eclectic method gives better results); M. M. Clarahan, "An Experimental Study of Methods of Teaching High School German," *University of Missouri Bulletin*, Educational Series, Vol. I (1913); Helen Eddy, "Training for Reading Technique," *Modern Language Journal* xv (1930), 176-91; Greenup and Segel, "An Experimental Study of the Relation Between Method and Outcomes in Spanish Instruction," *Modern Language Journal* xiv (1929), 208-12; Peter Hagbolt, "Achievement after Three Quarters of College German as Measured by the American Council Alpha Test, Form B," *German Quarterly* ii (1929), 35-43; J. B. Tharp and E. Murray, "Grammarless Reading of Foreign Languages," *Modern Language Journal* xii (1928), 385-90; C. E. Young and J. M. Daus, "An Experiment in First Year French," *Modern Language Journal* xii (1928), 356-64; C. E. Young and G. E. Van der Beke, "An Experiment in Second Year French," *Modern Language Journal* xi (1926), 25-31; Michael West, *Bilingualism* (India Occasional Reports, No. 13): Calcutta, Bureau of Education (1926).

a reading) method and the hopeless entanglement in the mazes of the Latin text on the part of pupils trained in grammar and translation.⁶

It should be stated, however, that no evidence is given by Buswell that a better comprehension of the foreign language was gained by those students whose eye movements were more like those manifested in the expert reading of English. Objective tests on Latin comprehension must also be given in order to see whether the students actually understand what they have read. Furthermore, I believe Grinstead has a good point when he says, in defending the regressive eye movements and longer fixation periods in reading Latin:

We can no more grasp the classical authors by twentieth century methods appropriate to a modern language than we could grasp the significance of the age of Pericles by visiting modern Greece on a vacation tourist's schedule.⁷

If I understand Grinstead, he is not objecting to extensive reading of Latin but is rather objecting to Buswell's insistence that the student's eye movements in reading the highly inflected Latin should be similar to his eye movements when reading English.

Actual objective data on the reading method in Latin are very slight. Miss Helen Eddy, who surveyed the teaching of foreign languages in the recent survey of secondary education sponsored by the United States Bureau of Education, writes me as follows:

I haven't any objective data on the Latin reading method. In its "purest" or most extreme form it is used in only one place that I know of — at University High School in Chicago. They follow Morrison — the sort of course he describes in his chapters on Language Arts in the *Practice of Teaching in the Secondary Schools*. There are a few other teachers scattered about who really use a reading method, but there are many, many more who think they are doing so but who are violating the fundamental principles of any real reading method.

She cites several well-known teachers who lean toward a read-

⁶ G. T. Buswell, *A Laboratory Study of the Reading of Modern Foreign Languages* (Publications of the American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages, Vol. II): New York, Macmillan Co. (1928).

⁷ W. J. Grinstead, "The Reading Process in Latin," *Jour. Ed. Res.* xv (1928), 197-211.

ing method, whose method has a slant toward the so-called direct method, especially in the early stages. Miss Eddy herself is a strong advocate of the reading method and uses it in her own teaching of Latin. As for objective evidence from her own classes, I quote again from her letter:

I have only the results of the standardized tests (Ullman and Kirby, etc.) that we give every year. Our average usually exceeds the norms and we have some superior students who go away beyond the standard upper quartile scores. So I am convinced that the type of course we use brings adequate results considering everything. Of course, our numbers are too small to prove anything scientifically.

Our next task, then, is to examine the results gained at the University of Chicago High School in teaching Latin by the extreme reading method. Miss Elsie Smithies in her master's thesis at the University of Chicago has laid down the principles upon which the course is constructed, the procedure in the classroom, and the results from the giving of objective tests. This study furnishes practically the only evidence on an objective basis of the success or lack of success of the extreme reading method in teaching Latin. It should be stated that the students in the University High School at Chicago are a highly selected group and that much more evidence must be advanced before the reading method has proved its case. However, Miss Smithies has given some very striking evidence that, as far as objective tests can testify, the results have been most satisfactory. The three chief aims for the first and second year are:

(1) To develop the power of pupils to comprehend Latin by silent reading without use of vocabulary or the memorizing of conjugations, declensions, or rules; (2) to develop the power to translate at sight certain kinds of Latin into clear, idiomatic English which conveys accurately the thought of the Latin author; (3) to develop power of written expression in simple Latin.

She summarized the results as follows:

1. In every type of test for comprehension the data show that the children trained by the reading method are superior. In the Ullman-Kirby Comprehension Test the medians are from 1.9 to 3.7 points higher than in the public and private schools [a group of schools in Chicago

using more orthodox methods]. In the Latin Silent Reading Test [a test made by Miss Smithies] the medians of the University High School pupils for every semester are higher than those of the public and private schools. The median for seniors in the University High School is only two points lower than the college graduate class in Latin which was tested. The medians for the second semester pupils in the University High School is 3.17 points higher than the sixth semester pupils of the public high schools. 2. In the grammar and composition tests pupils trained by the strict grammar method show little, if any, superiority over pupils trained by the reading method. In spite of the fact that the reading method pupils had had no specific training in forms and grammar, in the Tyler-Pressey Verb Form Test the median for four semester pupils was 1.1 point higher than the national median; for six semester pupils 1.5 point higher; for eight semester pupils 1.6 point higher. It is evident that the amount of time ordinarily spent in drill on forms and rules is wasted.⁸

In a letter Miss Smithies assures me that this method is still being used in her school and that she believes that they are getting better results each year. It seems, therefore, that while we have little experimental evidence on the reading method of teaching foreign languages, especially Latin, we have enough to show that it would be a fruitful field for research. Cannot some city school systems and universities set up controlled experiments and give us some data on this most interesting problem?

Closely allied to the reading method is the so-called functional method of learning forms and syntax, i.e., the learning of forms and syntax not as a means in itself or even for translation but for ability to comprehend Latin. The Classical Report advocated this plan and many of the recent high school texts in Latin have followed it to a greater or less degree. We have, however, little objective evidence as to the outcome of the functional method. Professor Carr, who is an advocate of this method, says:

The present speaker does not have sufficient scientific data, and he does not know of anyone who has, to provide a convincing answer to the question here involved as to the extent to which an active control of forms and vocabulary necessary to the ability to write Latin or even

⁸ Elsie M. Smithies, *An Experiment in the Teaching of Latin*, M. A. thesis, University of Chicago (1926), 61-62.

to recite a paradigm contributes to the ability to recognize and interpret Latin words or forms when seen in sensible context.⁹

In 1921 Brown made a survey of Latin instruction in the New Hampshire secondary schools by means of objective tests in grammar, translation, and vocabulary. He found that classes taught by the extreme grammatical method did no better on the grammar test than those taught by the translation method, as he calls it, while those using the translation method got considerably better results than those using the grammatical method "as far as the amount of Latin interpreted correctly is concerned."¹⁰

Investigators of the teaching of French have some data to offer on this problem also. Cheydleur at Wisconsin has studied (1) correlations between functional grammar tests and formal grammar tests and (2) comparative effectiveness of learning grammar formally and functionally. He found that the correlation between functional and theoretical grammar is .75. The American Council French Grammar Test was given to test functional knowledge of grammar, while a test involving the explanation of the grammatical principle was used to test the students' knowledge of theoretical grammar. These tests were given to students at seven state institutions, and the functional knowledge of grammar correlated more highly with the total knowledge of French (grade-point average) than did theoretical knowledge. Therefore, Cheydleur concludes that it would seem logical to stress functional rather than formal grammar.¹¹

A study made by Rice in California of 7000 high school students of modern languages shows among other things the results as to comprehension and knowledge of grammar in classes which stress grammar and in those which do not. Thirty second-year classes of French that stressed grammar teaching were compared

⁹ W. L. Carr, "The Functional Approach to Learning of Latin Vocabulary, Forms, and Syntax," *University of Pennsylvania Schoolmen's Week Proceedings* xviii (1931), 524-32 (also issued as a reprint by D. C. Heath and Co.).

¹⁰ H. A. Brown, *A Survey of Instruction in Latin in New Hampshire Secondary Schools*: Oshkosh, Wis., State Normal School (1921).

¹¹ F. D. Cheydleur, "Functional and Theoretical Grammar," *Modern Language Journal* xvi (1932), 310-33.

with thirty that did not. The classes in which grammar was emphasized made slightly lower scores both on the comprehension part of the Iowa Placement Test and on the grammar part than did those classes in which grammar was secondary. The correlation between grammar and translation was uniformly low.¹² Evidence was given in the Classical Report from the results of nation-wide objective tests that

no significant relation is discovered to exist between knowledge of the rules and ability to translate, while a high correlation is found between the scores made by the same pupils in the tests on functional syntax and on sentence translation.¹³

Here then is a second problem which should be vigorously attacked by investigators interested in Latin pedagogy. A functional method presupposes, of course, that reading ability and not a formal knowledge of syntax and forms is the main objective. The method that most expeditiously brings about reading ability as measured both by tests on comprehension and by translation should be considered the better or best method. By best method I do not mean any slavish following of any method per se but some general philosophy of Latin teaching. In the practical situation the investigator would no doubt measure the outcome of classes taught by two different textbooks or types of textbook, one following the formal method and the other the functional method, in the ability to comprehend Latin. This investigation must be conducted on a grand scale in order to be of any value.

If the functional method is ever really used with success, there will need to be much more simple Latin read in the first three semesters than now, and the new words will need to be introduced more slowly than is usually the case. Some very interesting research has been carried on by West in his construction of easy reading material in English for Bengali boys. To quote him:

¹² G. A. Rice, *Studies in Modern Language Teaching* (Publications of the American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages, Vol. XVII): New York, Macmillan Co. (1930), 433-71.

¹³ *The Classical Investigation*, Part I, General Report: Princeton, University Press (1924), 93; L. J. Brueckner, "The Status of Certain Basic Latin Skills," *Journal of Educational Research* ix (1924), 390-402.

The writer has endeavored to show that the ideal method should be one which combines the complete understanding (as found in the intensive method) with the rapid reading for content in the extensive method. These advantages may be combined by the special preparation of texts in which the incidence of new words is so limited as not to prevent rapid reading or the formation of a direct bond. Such new words as are introduced are however acquired thoroughly and there is no skipping over difficulties. At intervals in the course reading matter is provided in which there are no new words, its purpose being to provide a "fluency plateau" on which the direct bond may be more firmly secured.¹⁴

West's four principles in the teaching of the reading of a foreign language are: (1) The pupil should at the earliest possible moment derive pleasure and a sense of power from his study. (2) Words should be learned by practice in actual reading situations, not memorized as vocabularies. (3) New words should appear at regular intervals, not in a mass. (4) The matter of the reading-book should be suited to the age of the foreign pupil.¹⁵

Miss Eddy of the University of Iowa has conducted several very interesting experiments in the construction of French reading material for both first- and second-year classes in the high school. For the second-year class Dumas' *Les Trois Mousquetaires* was simplified, following West's procedure, and the density of new words was approximately fourteen new words per thousand. As Miss Struble, who constructed the reading material, says,

A density of ten as suggested by West would, it is true, facilitate the task of both the simplifier and the pupil. But it would also increase the cost, since to introduce a vocabulary of 500 new words using a density of ten would require 190 pages of reading material, while with a density of fourteen about 135 pages would be required.¹⁶

Each new word is also repeated several times within the next few pages. I have never examined our Latin easy reading material

¹⁴ Michael West, "The Problem of 'Weaning' in Reading a Foreign Language," *Modern Language Journal* xv (1931), 481-489.

¹⁵ Latin teachers will find the following books by West most stimulating: Michael West, *The Construction of Reading Material for Teaching a Foreign Language* (Dacca University Bulletin, No. 13): Oxford, University Press (1927); *Language in Education*: New York, Longmans, Green and Co. (1929).

¹⁶ Marguerite Struble, *The Construction of French Reading Material for Second Year High School*, Ph.D. thesis, State University of Iowa (1932).

as to density but I feel sure that the new words are introduced much faster than is recommended by Mr. West or Miss Eddy. Just what the density should be must be determined by experimentation, but if wide reading of Latin is done in the first and second years and the Latin is comprehended and not guessed at, some such experimentation on reading material as suggested by West must be carried on. When we get suitable reading material, we can then give the functional method a fair try out. Lack of time will not permit me to discuss West's theories as to "Weaning," i.e., giving the pupils real Latin after their diet of synthetic Latin. Suffice it to say that he does not advocate abandoning the synthetic product until the student has a large stock of vocabulary and considerable reading experience.

In connection with the construction of a workbook for first-year Latin several years ago I had occasion to examine the content as to words, forms, and constructions of fourteen widely used first-year texts. Of the words recommended by the College Entrance Examination Board for the first year I found 239 words common to all of the books and seventeen other words which the Examination Board had recommended for the second year common to all of the books. In the case of constructions, thirty-three were common to all of the fourteen first-year books. Byrne in his *Syntax of High School Latin* recommends forty-five constructions for the first year, although he includes subjunctives. Twelve of the fourteen books examined omitted constructions found in all of the other books, one omitting as high as sixteen. I found thirty-one categories of forms common to all of the books. There was a greater consistency as to forms introduced, and this seems rather a paradox, as we have no frequency list in Latin for inflections. One book, however, was decidedly heretical, omitting many forms introduced by the other thirteen. Perhaps all of the rest were out of step. It seems to me that, if our frequency counts in vocabulary and syntax are valid, our first-year books should show a closer agreement especially as to vocabulary. It may be that the range, i.e., number of authors examined, is not wide enough; I wish that some ambitious group of investigators would

make frequency lists covering more of Latin literature with the range of the word, form and construction, indicated as well as its frequency. Our frequency lists might not be greatly changed, but I have a feeling that some of the Caesar words in particular might have a lower rank both as to range and frequency. Although I have not examined them, I will wager that our second-year Latin books would show as wide a divergence in vocabulary as did the first-year books.

In addition to lists of the frequency and range of words, constructions and forms, we need difficulty lists. I have found in two different studies, one as yet unpublished, that frequency of occurrence is no sure determinant of the difficulty of a Latin word, form or construction.¹⁷ Results should be gained from the giving of objective tests on the elements of Latin, and difficulty lists should be made on the basis of the actual errors of the students. As Huse says (*op. cit.*, 181):

In using word counts as a basis for the material of an elementary text, a distinction between words is necessary not only on the basis of relative frequency but on the basis of relative difficulty as well.

He has in mind French cognates of English words. However, even here one must be careful and not take too much knowledge for granted. The actual performance of students in tests is the best criterion of difficulty. Limper has endeavored by testing to find out (1) to what extent students are able to recognize English words in French words, (2) to what extent they know the meaning of these English words, and (3) what the conditions are that prevent recognition.¹⁸ Until studies have been made along this line in Latin, we cannot assume that certain words will be recognized and their meaning known simply because of their similarity to English. Studies of errors made in writing a foreign language are useful when the writing of the foreign language is a primary objective. There have been several such lists made in

¹⁷ Mark E. Hutchinson, "The Correlation between the Difficulty of Latin Constructions and Their Frequency in High School Latin," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxiv (1929), 412-20.

¹⁸ Louis H. Limper, *Student Knowledge of Some French-English Cognates*, Ph.D. thesis, State University of Iowa (1931).

the modern language field. The only one in Latin with which I am familiar was made by Miss Gertrude Taber at the University of Pittsburgh, and she included errors made in "Latin to English" as well as in "English to Latin."¹⁹

One of the most baffling problems of foreign language instruction is what is the best mode of first presentation of words, i.e., visual, auditory, motor, etc. Psychologists working mainly with nonsense material give us very conflicting evidence. For instance, Pohlman²⁰ ranks the mode of presentation as follows: (1) auditory-visual, (2) purely auditory, (3) purely visual, (4) visual-auditory-motor. Henmon²¹ says purely auditory is first, visual-auditory second, visual-auditory-motor third, and purely visual fourth; while Meumann²² maintains that auditory presentation is best for younger children, but that for the intermediate and upper grades visual is best. There seems to be no conclusive objective evidence as to the superiority of any one method of presentation. I know of no experiments on record that establish the superiority of any one particular mode of presentation for the learning of foreign language vocabulary. De Sauzé in an article in the *French Review* maintains that in an experiment carried on in Cleveland it

took an average child with his auditory, visual senses equally developed one hundred "seeings" of an abstract word before he has an automatic recognition of the written form, while two hearings plus five seeings are sufficient to imprint the same word in a deep groove upon the memory cells and to make it available both for purposes of reading and conversing.²³

In a letter to me Dr. de Sauzé states further:

¹⁹ Gertrude J. Taber, "A Study of Errors in First Year Latin," *University of Pittsburgh School of Education Journal* v (1930), 101-07.

²⁰ A. Pohlman, *Experimentelle Beiträge zur Lehre von Gedächtnis*: Berlin (1906), 150-57.

²¹ V. A. C. Henmon, "Relation between Mode of Presentation and Retention," *Psychological Review* xix (1912), 79-96.

²² E. Meumann, *The Psychology of Learning*: New York, D. Appleton and Co. (1913), 157.

²³ E. B. de Sauzé, "The Cleveland Experiment in the Teaching of French," *French Review* i (1928), 13-26.

The experiment we speak of was performed ten years ago in the summer laboratory school in French. It was conducted by some of the graduate students, and the method consisted of calculating the number of times it was necessary to give certain words orally before the class was able to identify them when seen and when heard. The experiments gave adequate indication of the superiority of the ear over the eye as an organ of language teaching. It would be hard to say, however, that in all cases the percentage would be similar to the one quoted. The human element in a classroom is great. I am not maintaining that we have *absolute* proof of the superiority of the aural-oral approach, but the evidence in Cleveland strongly supports this theory.

It should be noted that the aim at Cleveland is for both reading and conversing, at least for modern languages. If the aim were simply for a reading knowledge, the results of the experiment might have been different. We have an experiment by Schmidt on the effect of objective presentation (displaying an object or acting out the meaning) on the learning of Latin words. His conclusions are:

It appears not merely probable, but certain, that nouns and adjectives as a class are not helped by objective methods. It is probable that all verbs lending themselves equally well to objective presentation would be so helped. But this is true only of learning, not of retention, for the word-count included no tests for deferred recall.²⁴

Buchanan and MacPhee in their *Annotated Bibliography of Modern Language Methodology* think that this whole problem of method of presentation is a fruitless one for the following reasons:

(1) Much reading and much thinking may go on without any discoverable imagery; (2) the sense department in which a subject matter is presented is not of necessity the one in which it is recalled; (3) the type of imagery used (if any) in recall of words, objects, etc., depends to a considerable degree on the immediate environment and largely on previous training.²⁵

²⁴ Anton G. Schmidt, *The Effect of Objective Presentation on the Learning and Retention of a Latin Vocabulary*: Chicago, Loyola University Press (1923), 157.

²⁵ M. A. Buchanan and E. D. MacPhee, *An Annotated Bibliography of Modern Language Methodology* (Publications of the American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages, Vol. VIII): Toronto, University of Toronto Press (1928), 55.

We have, therefore, no right from experimental evidence to state that any mode of presentation is the best. Much of the experimentation has been done with nonsense syllables, and there is a growing feeling that results from using foreign language words might not be the same. If we accept reading knowledge as the chief aim of Latin instruction, further experimentation should use that as the criterion of the effectiveness of the various modes of presentation. Probably Buchanan and MacPhee are right in saying (*op. cit.*, 56):

If it is desired to form an oral speech habit, articulation must be an important part of the method. If the emphasis is on silent reading, the student must be practised in rapid visual recognition, since this is the function he wishes to use.

Two studies on the result of the use of the direct method in French give statistical evidence on its outcome. Cheydleur reports from the giving of the American Council French Grammar Test to 2903 high school students and 172 college students that the norms of the students taught by the direct method drop below the standard medians in every semester from one to twenty-four points — in college from seven to nineteen points.²⁶ Pargment found in a comparison of the extreme direct method and the grammar-translation method that in a comprehensive examination the direct method students surpassed only in oral expression. The experiment was carried on in four beginning French classes, two taught by the direct method and two by the translation method. Pargment concludes from these data that

(1) Method has an effect on achievement; (2) the purely direct method cannot successfully be used in a two-year course unless we willingly sacrifice the most important aspect of language — an intelligent reading knowledge.²⁷

While the direct method has never been widely adopted in the teaching of Latin, it has had some ardent supporters. Chickering about fifteen years ago reported good results in New York from

²⁶ F. D. Cheydleur, "Results and Significance of the New Type of Modern Language Tests," *Modern Language Journal* xii (1928), 513-31.

²⁷ M. S. Pargment, "The Effect on Achievement of Method Used," *Modern Language Journal* xi (1927), 502-512.

the use of this method.²⁸ We have, however, many teachers of Latin who consider the oral approach the best method of learning Latin, even when the chief aim is a reading knowledge. A notable example of this point of view is the teaching of Latin as carried on by the Cleveland, Ohio, high schools. The Cleveland method differs from the direct method in that the pupil is not being taught to talk Latin for itself but in order that he may better read and understand Latin eventually. It differs from the reading method in (1) oral presentation, (2) intensive rather than extensive reading, (3) the paraphrase method. Dunham reports as to the success of this method as follows:

Experiments in Cleveland extending over a period of several years have shown that a 10B class taught by the method under discussion will read as much Latin as will the class that merely translates without taking time to read in the original. However, during the 10A term the increased power of comprehension of the class taught by the oral method will enable it to read and interpret two or three times as much as the ordinary class will translate.²⁹

Dr. de Sauzé, Director of Foreign Languages in Cleveland, states in a letter to me:

In all cases when tests were given in Cleveland and in other centres using the "reading method" we found that the median on the test given was higher in Cleveland than any other place and that even the median on the comprehension part of the test was higher in Cleveland than in those schools using the "reading method" (these data were from the giving of French tests). We use the same principles in the teaching of Latin except that the discussion on the grammar is conducted in English and that we have occasionally a translation as a summing up of the passage in advanced classes. Substantially, the two most important features of the method that we are using here are the oral presentation in ad-

²⁸ E. C. Pickering, "The Direct Method in Latin Teaching: A Reply," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* IX (1913), 67-72; "The Direct Method in Latin-Results," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XI (1916), 348-56; J. C. Kirtland, "The Direct Method of Teaching the Classics: The Availability of the Method for American Schools," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* VIII (1913), 355-363.

²⁹ Fred S. Dunham, "The Oral Method as Applied to the Teaching of Comprehension," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XX (1925), 226-235; cf. also E. B. de Sauzé, "Problems of First Year Latin," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XVI (1921), 339-345; "A Pedagogical and Psychological Basis for a First Year Latin Course," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXI (1926), 489-96.

vance of the use of the eye and the inductive presentation of the grammar.

A first-year Latin text has recently been published written by three Cleveland teachers which exemplifies these principles, and it will be interesting to note how this method works out with a more extended use.⁸⁰ Carr and Hadzsits in their new first-year book evidently favor the oral approach to some extent, for in their preface they say:

In order further to stimulate the pupils' interest in Latin as a language, the authors have so organized the first few reading units that they may easily be presented orally and objectively. Indeed, the authors believe that the teacher will succeed best in cultivating in his pupils a language attitude toward Latin and a reading attitude toward the printed Latin page if in the early stages of the work he will give his pupils much practice in hearing and saying Latin before calling on them to read it.⁸¹

As Huse has suggested, the most practical method of weighing the effectiveness of various more or less theoretical methods is the measurement of the results from the use of textbooks that use diametrically opposed methods. Why not measure the outcome in reading knowledge from a city or several cities using some such book as Carr and Hadzsits and compare it with the results gained from another group of schools using textbooks that stress the visual approach alone? Probably the multiple approach is the best, but it would be decidedly worth while to get some objective data on a big scale of the results of aural-oral versus visual first presentation of Latin.

Another problem which needs clarification is the relative effectiveness of presenting new words in familiar context or in associated pairs. The existing evidence on this problem is conflicting, and much more research is needed. Most of the studies have been on modern foreign languages or nonsense syllables. Libby working with Italian words,⁸² Binet and Henri experimenting in

⁸⁰ Chesnutt, Olivenbaum, and Rosebaugh, *The Road to Latin*: Philadelphia, John C. Winston Co. (1932).

⁸¹ W. L. Carr and G. D. Hadzsits, *The Living Language*: Boston, D. C. Heath and Co. (1933).

⁸² W. Libby, "An Experiment in Learning a Foreign Language," *Pedagogical Seminary* xvii (1910), 81-96.

French,⁸³ and Grinstead, experimenting on teaching German words to a fifteen-year old boy,⁸⁴ found that the learning of words in sentences is more economical than learning isolated words. On the other hand we have two experiments that show an opposite result. Louise Seibert has found that both for immediate and delayed recall of French vocabulary the method of learning the vocabulary by associated pairs is superior to the method of learning it through a context or by a mixed method.⁸⁵ Huse working with nonsense syllables reports an experiment which gave evidence that

when words are presented, paired individually with their meanings, sixteen repetitions suffice to learn them for recall either individually or in combination. When they are presented as phrases, a total of thirty-three repetitions is required to learn them individually.⁸⁶

It should be added, however, that Huse used unfamiliar context. Most authorities are agreed, I believe, that the new words should be introduced into a familiar context, i.e., words already known. The only studies that have to do with the presentation of Latin words in context versus word lists are those of Grinstead and Perkins. Both of these report the experimentation on and construction of one-year courses in Latin organized primarily for the value gained for English from the study of Latin. In the first semester Grinstead gave a purely etymological course, but in the second semester Latin phrases and simple connected Latin were studied. He reports that the second semester showed a marked increase in the accuracy and thoroughness of learning the derivatives, which seemed to indicate that "sentential content is the matrix of the word idea and that it is uneconomical to resort primarily to the word list as a means of increasing the vocabu-

⁸³ A. Binet and V. Henri, "La Memorie des Mots," *Année Psychologique* I (1894), 1-23.

⁸⁴ W. J. Grinstead, "An Experiment in the Learning of Foreign Languages," *Jour. Ed. Psych.* vi (1915), 242-45.

⁸⁵ Louise Seibert, "An Experiment on the Relative Efficiency of Studying French Vocabulary in Associated Pairs versus Studying French Vocabulary in Context," *Jour. Ed. Psych.* xxi (1930), 297-314.

⁸⁶ H. R. Huse, *op. cit.*, 211.

lary."³⁷ Perkins gives the same opinion based on the result of his experiment in teaching Latin to commercial students:

In fact, is it not virtually impossible to remember the meaning of a Latin root-word without observing how the other words into which it enters are used in relation to other words in sentences? As well might one try to acquire the English language by committing the dictionary to memory.³⁸

It can be seen, therefore, that we have no objective data that convincingly show whether words should be first met in context or in associated pairs. Here again a controlled experiment on a large scale is needed. I would also suggest that both groups of students (i.e., those trained by word lists and those meeting the words in context) should be examined by tests that examine for knowledge of words in context rather than in word lists. The student's vocabulary knowledge in the actual reading situation is what should be measured. An experiment carried on by the Modern Language Investigation showed that a vocabulary test that presented the words in context was more valid as judged by examinations, teachers' term marks, and intelligence quotients than a test which presented the words in lists.³⁹

Mention should be made of the movement to set up units of learning in Latin. Several of the recent first-year texts are constructed on this theory.⁴⁰ I can best illustrate this point of view by quoting from a letter written to me by Professor W. J. Grinstead:

The effectiveness of the functional method is vitiated by the fact that

³⁷ W. J. Grinstead, "A One Year Course in Latin," *Ed. Rev.* LXIII (1921), 150.

³⁸ A. S. Perkins, "The Dorchester Experiment in Vocational Latin," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XII (1916), 131-44.

³⁹ Bancroft Beatley, *A Comparative Study of Two Tests of French Vocabulary* (Publications of the American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages, Vol. V, Appendix 2): New York, Macmillan Co. (1929), 346-353.

⁴⁰ W. J. Grinstead and Walter V. McDuffee, *A First Book in Latin*: New York, D. Appleton and Co. (1933). For a discussion of units of learning in Latin cf. W. J. Grinstead, "The Unit of Learning in Latin," *Educational Outlook* III (v), 40-52; "Learning Experience in Latin," *University of Pennsylvania Schoolmen's Week Proceedings* XIX (1932).

they [textbook writers] have not worked out the implications of the method by organizing material into units, each of which is designed to develop an elementary control of a particular type of Latin (such as description, narration, dialogue, indirect discourse) or Latin of a particular level of difficulty as determined by the prevalence of certain natural elements (such as dependent elements in the simple sentence, coordinate and subordinate clauses, etc.). They have rather organized their material on formal scientific lines. For example, they may group together such elements as the three tenses of the present system of verbs without introducing the tenses of the perfect system. The present, imperfect, and future tenses cannot be used to the exclusion of other tenses in any kind of natural Latin discourse.

Grinstead thinks, therefore, that "any objective evaluation of the functional method is not likely to do full justice to it because of this imperfect development of its implications and technique." It will be interesting to observe how Grinstead's new book works out in the classroom. All who are interested in the teaching of Latin wish to find a method or methods that bring about a greater reading facility. I am convinced that this theory of teaching Latin suggested by Grinstead deserves a thorough try out and a comparison of its results with those from the more orthodox methods. Here again we can measure one textbook or class of textbooks against another.

Other problems for research come to mind such as general language courses and how they should be constructed, where we stand in junior high school Latin, the best way or ways to meet individual differences, recall- versus recognition-knowledge, the best time or age to begin the study of Latin, the value of prognostic tests in connection with the general subject of who should study Latin, the value of the writing of Latin for gaining a reading knowledge of Latin, etc.

Before I conclude I must say something of the value of objective tests for research work. It can be assumed in my opinion that the modern language investigation has clearly shown the value of standardized objective tests in measuring and evaluating the outcome of language instruction. Any disinterested person who reads Henmon's monumental report on *Achievement Tests*

in the *Modern Foreign Languages* (Volume v of the Modern Language Report) will be convinced of their value. Several experiments have shown that the new type of tests measures more accurately and reliably than the old essay type of test. Cheydleur says:

For if it is true that the three principal functions of the examination consist in measurement, motivation, and training in the use of the mother tongue, the experimental evidence favors the new type as an instrument for the measurement of factual mastery.⁴¹

For research problems measurement of factual mastery is the desideratum, and objective tests give accurate measurement that can be gained in no other way. It seems to the writer that the time is not far removed when our language students will be judged and classified not by the number of semesters or years they have studied a language but rather by their actual achievement as indicated by scores on standardized achievement tests. Some teachers will no doubt object to tests on Latin comprehension as being less satisfactory than translation in finding out whether the student has understood his Latin. I would be the last to decry translation, but for research work and for testing on rapid reading objective tests are almost imperative. Furthermore, to quote from the Classical Report (pp. 194-195):

The complete adequacy of this method of testing comprehension is indicated by the fact that the very high correlation of .975 was found between the scores on the Ullman-Kirby test when taken as a comprehension test and when taken by the same pupils as a translation test. The same correlation of .975 was found between the scores on the Ullman-Kirby test for comprehension and on the Brown Sentence-Translation Test taken by the same pupils.

If the tests on comprehension were answered by guessing, then from this evidence the translation was also guesswork. Of course,

⁴¹ F. D. Cheydleur, "The Relative Reliability of the Old and the New Type Modern Language Examination," *French Review* II (1929), 530-50; "Results and Significance of the New Type of Modern Language Test," *Modern Language Journal* XII (1928), 513-31; "Attainment Examinations in Foreign Languages at University of Wisconsin," *French Review* VI (1933), 190-214; 282-300; J. B. Tharp, "The New Examination versus the Old in Foreign Languages," *School and Society* XXVI (1927), 691-94.

the tests can be and are being improved, and if the functional method gains wider practice, our tests must measure functional knowledge somewhat more accurately. Our objectives and our measuring devices must coincide.

To summarize, I have suggested certain research problems on the teaching of Latin toward the solution of which controlled experimentation should be carried on. They are:

1. Investigation as to the most effective way to bring about reading knowledge of Latin. Shall we adopt "extensive" or "intensive" reading?

2. Comparison of the functional versus the formal method of teaching the elements of Latin, the criterion being reading knowledge measured both by translation and tests on comprehension.

3. Experimentation as to the knowledge of the elements of Latin (vocabulary, forms, and syntax) brought about by the functional and formal methods of teaching respectively.

4. Experimentation in the construction of easy reading material. What is the best "density" for vocabulary?

5. Examination of first- and second-year books to see how closely their choice of vocabulary and syntax coincides with the existing frequency lists.

6. Construction of frequency lists in vocabulary, forms, and syntax from a wide range of Latin literature. The range as well as the frequency should be indicated.

7. Compilation of difficulty lists for words, forms, and constructions as shown by the actual errors of the students on objective tests.

8. A study of the extent to which students recognize English words in Latin and know what they mean. As a result a list of Latin words which the average student will be assumed to know from his knowledge of English can be made.

9. A thoroughgoing testing of the effectiveness of the "oral" method in gaining a reading knowledge of Latin.

10. A study as to whether new Latin words can be most effectively learned in context or in associated pairs.

11. An investigation as to the value of the "unit" system of teaching Latin.

12. Study as to the best mode of first presentation of Latin words — visual, auditory, etc.

13. The further refining and improving of objective tests in Latin, especially of those which purport to measure functional knowledge.

It may be necessary to work out some of these problems in the psychological laboratory, but I believe that the controlled experiment will give results refined enough for teaching purposes. Perhaps some of these problems cannot be solved, but until they are solved or at least a greater effort has been made to grapple with them scientifically, none of us Latinists dare to be too dogmatic in our strictures upon the faulty method of other Latin teachers, whom, depending on our point of view, we consider too heretical or too orthodox.

VERGIL'S HATRED OF WAR¹

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That post-war chaos produces its own psychology is a truism on which probably all the changes have been rung. One need not explore farther back than the last twelve years in order to demonstrate it. That generation which beholds and participates in a war has no stomach for another one. Its disillusionment is complete. It is only the rising generation which can be hypnotized by the call of the bugle and the sound of the guns. In that fact lies the world's fear for the future.

That every man is, to a degree, the product of his own times, and that this was true of Publius Vergilius Maro has often been pointed out and needs no further demonstration here. One has only to recall the tragic picture of those years of civil conflict in the first century B.C., the terrifying panorama of brother arrayed against brother, of one battleground after another soaked with Roman blood and piled high with Roman corpses, no matter which side was victor, to realize part of the reason for that "majestic sadness" in the poet which Tennyson was not the first nor the last to notice. If Professor Frank is right in his supposition² that at the age of twenty-two, Vergil, having been drawn in the draft, may actually have fought in the legions of Caesar against Pompey at Pharsalus — and this is certainly at least possible — and if the poignant passage about the dead at Pharsalus be a shuddering memory of his own experience, then we must revise

¹ This paper was read at the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South at Bloomington, Indiana, April 2, 1931.

² Cf. Tenney Frank, *Vergil, a Biography*: New York, Henry Holt and Co. (1922), 22 f.

somewhat our picture of an early life of peaceful repose in a sleepy country village, far removed from, and little concerned with, bloody scenes elsewhere. And even granting that the quietude of the Mantuan neighborhood was not broken by the rumbling echoes of the Caesar-Pompey conflict, it was only seven years after Pharsalus that the war between Octavian and the Liberators came home to Cremona, and eventually to Mantua and Vergil, busily entering upon those preliminary flights of his Muse in the *Eclogues*. The confiscations after Philippi rudely ejected him from his bucolic setting, and his subsequently successful mission to Rome, resulting in the restoration of his home, must have brought his sensitive soul into immediate and sympathetic contact with the inevitable psychology of a war-racked people, dumbly hungering for peace, a hunger which was destined not to be satisfied for the next ten weary years, while Octavian was gradually eliminating Antony from the political horizon. That a deep dislike for the monster of war should have settled itself into Vergil's consciousness during those early years would be a logical supposition, had we no evidence to support it. That this dislike never developed into a crusading passion, or even a peace-at-any-price advocacy of nonresistance, is wholly in harmony with the poet's character as we know it. That he never fails in a true appraisal of the heroism and self-sacrifice that may grow out of war is its own testimonial to the sanity of his patriotism and his uncanny power of judging human relationships and behavior in their own background and on the basis of their true motives. What a tribute to that gallant band who refused to stay in Sicily!

Exigui numero, sed bello vivida virtus (*Aen.* v, 754).

That the evictions of 41 B.C. stirred a natural and deep resentment in Vergil is immediately evident on opening the *Eclogues*. Whether the Tityrus of the first *Eclogue* represents the poet or not, it seems highly probable that the despair which is voiced through the lips of Meliboeus³ is an echo of his own:

³ Cf. *Ecl.* i, 67-78. The translations used in this paper are from H. R. Fairclough, *Virgil* (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (Vol. I, 1916; Vol. II, 1918).

Ah, shall I ever, long years hence, look again on my country's bounds, on my humble cottage with its turf-clad roof — shall I, long years hence, look amazed on a few ears of corn, once my kingdom? Is a godless soldier to hold these well-tilled fallows? a barbarian these crops? See to what strife has brought our unhappy citizens! For these have we sown our fields! Now, Meliboeus, graft your pears, plant your vines in rows! Away, my goats! Away, once happy flock! No more, stretched in some mossy grot, shall I watch you in the distance hanging from a bushy crag; no more songs shall I sing; no more, my goats, under my tending, shall you crop flowering lucerne and bitter willows!

In this scathing arraignment the outstanding phrases are *impius miles* (70) and *quo discordia civis produxit miseros* (71 f.). The ninth ⁴ reëchoes the resentment of the first; and whatever else the lovely fourth,⁵ with its pseudo-Messianic cry, may mean, it certainly makes vocal, and not obscurely so, that dumb hunger for peace which was in the national consciousness. What more complete deliverance could there be than from *perpetua formidine*? We encounter significant phrases like the *tristia condere bella*,⁶ and the *insanus amor duri Martis*,⁷ which latter is the precursor of that most blistering condemnation of war's folly in all the poet's work,⁸ to which we shall come later.

In the *Georgics* Vergil had a theme so congenial that, apparently without effort, he fitted it into his plan of coöperation with the new régime of Augustus. Peaceful agriculture had been for ages, as Mackail ⁹ and others have repeatedly pointed out, the immemorial national tradition. The picture of rural Italy, "at peace with itself and in harmony with Nature," was the picture which both poet and patron desired to reprint on the national consciousness as the normal and desirable status for the future. Consequently, without any labored political propagandizing, without any conscious blare of a back-to-the-farm movement, the poet

⁴ *Ecl.* ix, 2-6.

⁵ *Ecl.* iv, 11-17.

⁶ *Ecl.* vi, 7.

⁷ *Ecl.* x, 44.

⁸ *Aen.* vii, 461.

⁹ Cf. J. W. Mackail, *Virgil and His Meaning to the World of Today*: New York, Longmans, Green and Co. (1922), 61.

simply let himself go on a delightful task. No one could possibly claim that the *Georgics* are clearly anti-war or militantly pacifistic. They are not. But it is quite impossible to get away from the conviction that the bucolic calm of country life, its normal dissociation with politics and intrigue and armies and battles and horrors, did constitute no small part of its charm for Vergil. Neither was it merely that his gentle soul welcomed rural retreat as a temporary respite from the intricacies and the cruelties of urban existence, as did his friend Horace, and later, the younger Pliny. It was a deeper-seated motive than that. Vergil loved the country's peace because he was not a warrior at heart. Such a poignant phrase as *secura quies* (*G.* II, 467) is a bit autobiographical. The adjective is as important as the noun. It was not only peace that he loved, but a peace that was free from fear. One feels too the autobiographical note in the reference (*Aen.* XII, 517), long after, to the young country lad Menoetes, victim of Turnus' final frenzy, *exosum nequiquam bella*. He had hated wars but all in vain.

Roaming through the *Georgics*, one finds him constantly resounding the note of peace and, now and then, of an active dislike of war. None of these sounds casual, formalistic, or dragged in by the ears. Least of all does the impassioned close of the first (*G.* I, 489-514), beginning in a pensive anticipation of the mournful aftermath of Philippi and rising to an invocation against the continuation of the slaughter and a despairing cry at the apparent impossibility of checking it. In the second *Georgic* (279-83) the fair picture of an ordered vineyard suggests by contrast the grimness of military ranks and an impending struggle. One feels more than a dryly conventional reference to the olive in

*Hoc pinguem et placitam Paci nutritor olivam.*¹⁰

Again we have the tragic regret over fratricidal *discordia* in *Georgics* II, 495-512, ending in the tragic paradox, "Gleefully they steep themselves in their brothers' blood; for exile they change their sweet homes and hearths, and seek a country that lies beneath an alien sun." And in the ending of the second we

¹⁰ *G.* II, 425.

encounter a somewhat conventional and less colorful reference to the stereotyped glories of the Golden Age, "while yet none had heard the clarion blare, none the sword-blades ring, as they were laid on the stubborn anvil."¹¹ It seems to me significant that in the very closing lines of the last *Georgic*,¹² Vergil, without decrying the military prowess of his imperial patron, leaves ringing in our ears the contrast between war and peace and the conviction of his own satisfaction in the lot which found him at calm Naples, while Caesar campaigned, even though the reference is to the mostly bloodless conquest of the East after Actium.

But it is, of course, in the great epic, the full flower of his maturer years, that we must look for the final word and the ultimate verdict on this side of the poet's philosophy. One cannot dodge that first word, *Arma*, nor can one stop his ears to the recurrent clash of those arms through much of the movement of the first half of the poem and practically all of the last half. A military theme it was and must be. Its essential heroism is of the battlefield, and its hero is unmistakably a warrior. Of that Vergil repeatedly¹³ assures us. But writing about war, and reveling in blood are not necessarily concomitant. Herr Erich Maria Remarque¹⁴ and a host of others have recently shown us that again. And it is in the deliberate refusal, I believe, most of the time in the first six books, to wallow in gore, that Vergil most clearly parts company with his Homeric model. That he was not completely successful in this dedication to artistic restraint, and that horrible realism does go rampant in many passages in the last six books only prove that he was, perhaps, a better patriot than pacifist; but his definite *effort* in the direction of that restraint seems to me beyond question. And certainly, in viewing the *Aeneid* as a whole, one must come to the conclusion that its theme, as the poet conceived it eventually, if not completely at the

¹¹ *G.* II, 539 f.

¹² *G.* IV, 559-66.

¹³ *Aen.* I, 544; VII, 234; XI, 282-84. From this point on in this paper, all references are to the *Aeneid*.

¹⁴ *All Quiet on the Western Front*, translated by A. W. Wheen: Boston, Little, Brown, and Co. (1929).

start, was essentially a *constructive* one, only suggested by *arma virumque*, elaborated in *dum conderet urbem* (1, 5), and not adequately and definitely enunciated until that majestic key line (1, 33),

Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

That is, Vergil wrote about war, not because he loved it or enjoyed dwelling on its horrors, but in spite of his dislike for it. His ultimate glance was always at the final accomplishment, and seldom was his attention diverted long from that far-off goal, a constructive mission, to be reached through seas of blood if necessary, and constituting the only adequate reason for the blood-spilling. It is in this attitude, I believe, that we find the correct explanation for that often quoted invocation to the Muse Erato near the beginning of the seventh book (37-44), the concluding lines of which seem to some commentators to exalt out of their true proportion the bloody scenes to follow. But the poet has not lost sight of his original purpose. *Romanam condere gentem* is still his theme. All the six books preceding have been, to a degree, preparatory. Not a stone has actually been laid in that foundation of the coming structure. It has taken six books and years of wandering to bring the hero actually on the stage. But now his "Odyssey" is over and his "Iliad" can begin. No wonder the words, *Maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo*, and *Maius opus moveo* come to his mind and flow from his pen. He is now approaching what leads directly to his real subject, the theme which was to thrill and inspire every Roman heart. That is why he feels it as *maius opus*, not because it is necessarily filled with war and bloodshed, but almost in spite of that fact. Troy had been the focus of interest in the first six books. It was only the glory of Rome's imperial future as revealed by Anchises to his son that finally eclipsed the brilliance of the memory of Troy. From that moment on, Aeneas' glance was definitely forward and not back. He had through the years of wandering frequently cast an eye back over his shoulder to the glorious and tragic past. But the founding of an empire in Italy now faces him. That is the *maius opus*, not the fighting and the slaughter which must

clear the way. It may be, too, that the phrase was intended to include a partial justification of this second invocation to the Muse. It was a task too great for the poet to attempt without a guidance and inspiration greater than himself. So Vergil's *pietas* is of the same pattern as his hero's. And how unmistakable he makes his conviction, by the emphasis of threefold repetition, that the war into which Aeneas was forced in Italy was opposed to the divine plan, one more barrier in his path, an attempt doomed to ultimate failure! Of the war-mad crowd, besieging the aged and trembling old king, Latinus, in his palace, he says (VII, 583 f.), "Straightway, one and all, despite the omens, despite the oracles of gods, with will perverse, clamour for unholy war." After holding out in vain against their importunings, with all-too-complete realization of the awful consequences of defying the ultimate will of Heaven, a realization probably based on the memory of past experience,

when no power is given him to quell their blind resolve, and all goes as cruel Juno wills, then with many an appeal to the gods and the voiceless skies, "Alas!" cries the father, "we are shattered by fate, and swept away by the storm! Ye yourselves, my wretched children, with your impious blood shall pay the price of this! Thee, Turnus, thee the guilt and its bitter punishment shall await, and too late with vows shalt thou adore the gods" [VII, 591-97].

It seems vastly significant that the very first extensive or definite prophecy of the future greatness of Rome which the poet gives us, Jupiter's revelation to Venus, after dwelling on conquest and subjugation of conquered peoples, culminates in the magnificent passage (I, 284-94) in which the glory of Augustus is clearly set forth as the glory of peace and its attendant blessings. And here the poet uses a literary device which is important in connection with his own attitude. He drives home the picture of peace by contrast. And the contrast is a three-line portrait of the incarnation of War-fury, so vivid in its horrible details, so stimulating to the imagination, that one instinctively wonders if it might not have been inspired by a painting, and almost anticipates Servius' note, stating that there was such a painting in the Forum of

Augustus, and the reference by the elder Pliny ¹⁵ to the depiction of the subject by the great Apelles:

Within, impious Rage, sitting on savage arms, his hands fast bound behind with a hundred brazen knots, shall roar in the ghastliness of blood-stained lips [I, 294-96].

Certainly no militarist wrote that! A somewhat less vivid parallel to this is found in the stirring description of the battle scenes on Aeneas' shield (VIII, 700-03), where the climax is reached in the terrific clash at Actium, the high point of Octavian's military success, a scene which would stir the blood of every patriot, as Vergil depicts it. But the poet is unwilling that the glamour shall conceal the horror, and he paints in the sinister figure of the battle god and his terrible attendants.

It is in Book II, which consists largely of fighting, that we come into definite contact with Vergil's unwillingness to revel in gory details, as Homer unquestionably had done, and that his artistic restraint is first effectively demonstrated. Certainly no proponent of realism would criticize the book as lacking in vividness or intensity. The thrill of momentary, but ill-starred, success is there; the horror and the despair are there, but mostly by suggestion rather than by photographic insistence upon details. Two examples will, perhaps, suffice: In one passage (II, 359-69) there are the *flashes* of horror, the vast effectiveness of the untold, in the suggestion that no human tongue could do justice to the awfulness of that night, nor any human sympathy equal it. That Vergil was fully alive to the artistic forcefulness of this restraint is hardly debatable. That he deliberately preferred it because of a natural shrinking from bloody realism seems probable. A little farther along in the narrative (396-401) he covers the grim work of hours in six lines. It is hardly conceivable that a Homer would have been content with that degree of self-control, when all those chances for realistic horror naturally presented themselves. A similar unwillingness on Vergil's part, combined with rhetori-

¹⁵ N. H. xxxv, 93. On this passage, cf. K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*: New York, Macmillan and Co. (1896).

cal effectiveness, is to be seen in the simile of the cyclone (II, 416-19), when all the winds seem to the terrified mariner to be blowing from every direction at once.

The exceptions to the policy of restraint which one must note in Book II are, of course, the Laocoön incident and the death of Priam. The gory and sickening details here, as elsewhere, are, I believe, a concession by the poet to the call for that sort of realism, the taste for which had been whetted by previous writers, and which it would have been fatal to the success of a patriotic epic to eliminate entirely. In one of his numerous disclaimers of any ability or ambition on his part to write epics, the poet Horace distinctly recognizes the *necessity* for bloody realism in such works. He says (*Sat.* II, 1, 13-15):

*Neque enim quivis horrentia pilis
agmina nec fracta pereuntis cuspide Gallos
aut labentis equo describat volnera Parthi.*

In a note in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXVII (1931), 39-42, entitled "Did Vergil Shrink from the Horrible?" Professor W. P. Clark voices his own doubt in that direction and cites the gory passage in *Aeneid* VIII, 642-45 as an example of superfluous horror. But if the literary canon of the epic was as well recognized as Horace says it was, would not a conscientious artist like Vergil occasionally feel called upon to make a complete surrender to it, as he undoubtedly does here and elsewhere? When one contrasts the relatively few instances of this with the obvious restraint exhibited elsewhere, the theory that Vergil did shrink from the horrible still seems tenable. And Pyrrhus' treatment of the pathetic old king was, of course, calculated to arouse sympathy for the whole Trojan cause, for the Trojan hero, and incidentally to disparage Pyrrhus and the Greeks in general. Again, it seems to me that the bloody realism of the fighting later on in Italy should not discount the fact that the proportion of it in Book II is slight.

On the occasion of the first landing in Italy, old Anchises voices the universal longing for peace in refusing to accept the omen of the horses as necessarily presaging war (III, 539-42). Vergil's

conception of war as a scourge is clear in his inclusion of it with the other plagues of mankind which he groups on the threshold of Acheron (vi, 273-81). Anchises' shade gives vivid expression to the shuddering regret of the poet and his times, in the tragic anticipation of the civil wars and their physical and spiritual devastation, when, pointing to the future spirits of Caesar and Pompey, he sadly says (vi, 821-35):

But they whom thou seest gleaming in equal arms, souls harmonious now, while wrapped in night, alas! if they but reach the light of life, what mutual war, what battles and carnage shall they arouse! the father coming down from Alpine ramparts, and the fortress of Monoecus, his daughter's spouse arrayed against him with the armies of the East. O my sons, make not a home within your hearts for such warfare, nor upon your country's very vitals turn her vigour and valour! And do thou first forbear, thou who drawest thy race from heaven: cast from thy hand the sword, thou blood of mine!

"This," says Tenney Frank (*op. cit.* 26), "is the poet's final conviction regarding the civil war in which he served. His first had not differed widely from this." In this connection it seems significant that the first simile in the epic (I, 148-53) portrays the figure of a civic leader, standing for peace in a time of stress and mob violence.

Apropos of the unavoidable approach to the bloody scenes of the war in Italy, Warde Fowler says,¹⁶

The poet seems to wish to put off this bloodshed as long as possible; beyond doubt it was the least congenial part of his work. . . . I find much interest in the discovery of constant efforts on the part of the poet to escape his fate — the necessity of describing Homeric battles.

And Boissier voices the conviction that, even in the face of that necessity, Vergil makes an effort to "civilize" warfare. He says:¹⁷

War in the *Aeneid* appears less primitive, more intricate, and more learned than in the *Iliad*. In Homer, each fights for himself and follows no inspiration but his courage, whereas among the soldiers of Aeneas and Turnus, there is more discipline and concert. The *mêlée* still re-

¹⁶ Cf. *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* 2: Oxford, B. H. Blackwell (1918), 1.

¹⁷ Cf. *The Country of Horace and Virgil*, translated by D. Havelock Fisher: London, T. Fisher Unwin (1896), 316 f.

mains sufficiently confused; but, with the exception of these furious encounters, where everyone presses forward and has no other fixed idea than to go as far and hit as hard as he can, one feels a little more art and tactics in their manner of fighting.

Before the slaughter finally begins in Book VII we have the poet's terrible assurance that war is born of hate in the great *Allecto* passage. Every detail of the description of the *Fury* shows her to be the personification of that unreasoning, illogical, fanatical, and cruel hatred which must be fanned into flame before success against any enemy is probable. Vergil is too clear-eyed to be swept off his feet by war propaganda. With devastating analysis he exposes what is actually behind the "glory" of war and effectively strips the mask from Mars and reveals his ugly face. This is the nearest he comes to propaganda himself. The suggestion of the frightful figure, evoked by Juno from hell, hovers over the picture from the moment she first appears, even though she herself is dismissed when her horrid initial work is done:

Allecto, whose heart is set on gloomy wars, passions, plots, and baneful crimes. Hateful is the monster even to her sire *Pluto*, hateful to her *Tartarean* sisters; so many are the forms she assumes, so savage their aspect, so thick her black up-sprouting vipers [VII, 325-29].

Juno pays tribute to her powers in the words,

Thou canst arm for strife brothers of one soul, and overturn homes with hate; thou canst bring under the roof the lash and funeral torch; thou hast a thousand names, a thousand means of ill. Rouse thy fertile bosom, shatter the pact of peace, sow seeds of wicked war! In the same hour let the men crave, demand, and seize the sword! [VII, 335-40.]

Then we have a terrible picture of the entrance of war-fury and hatred into a woman's heart, as *Allecto* takes possession of *Amata*, the queen:

On her the goddess flings a snake from her dusky tresses, and thrusts it into her bosom, into her inmost heart, that maddened by the pest she may embroil all the house. Gliding between her raiment and smooth breasts, it winds its way unfelt and, unseen by the frenzied woman, breathes into her its viperous breath. The huge snake becomes the collar of twisted gold about her neck, becomes the festoon of the long

fillet, entwines itself into her hair, and slides smoothly over her limbs. And while first the taint, stealing on in fluent poison, thrills her senses and wraps her bones with fire, nor yet her soul has caught the flame throughout her breast, softly, and as mothers are wont, she spoke, shedding many a tear over her daughter's and the Phrygian's wedlock [VII, 346-58].

She appeals in vain to Latinus, but

when, after such vain trial with words, she sees Latinus stand firm against her — when the serpent's maddening venom has glided deep into her veins and courses through her whole frame — then, indeed, the luckless queen, stung by monstrous horrors, in wild frenzy rages from end to end of the city [VII, 373-77].

Here, in an appeal to other women, she is more successful;

Fame flies abroad, and the matrons, their breasts kindled with fury, are driven on, all by the same frenzy, to seek new dwellings [VII, 392 f.].

The Fury, appearing as an aged priestess to Turnus, the Rutulian Achilles, skillfully plays on his resentment to inflame it to hatred (VII, 421-34). The hero refuses at first to take her seriously, and then

at such words Allecto blazed forth in fury. But even as the youth spoke, a sudden tremor seized his limbs, and his eyes were set in fear; so many are the Fury's hissing snakes, so monstrous the features that unfold themselves. Then, rolling her flaming eyes, she thrust him back, as he faltered and was fain to say more, reared two snakes from her tresses, sounded her whip, and spoke further with rabid lips: "Behold me, enfeebled by decay, whom old age, barren of truth, amid the feuds of kings, mocks with vain alarm! Look on this! I am come from the home of the Dread Sisters, and in my hand I bear war and death.

So saying, she hurled at the youth a torch, and fixed in his breast the brand, smoking with lurid light. A monstrous terror broke his sleep, and the sweat, bursting forth from all his frame, drenched bone and limb. For arms he madly shrieks; arms he seeks in couch and chamber; lust of the sword rages in him, *the accursed frenzy of war*, and resentment crowning all. . . . Therefore, profaning peace, he orders his chief warriors to march upon Latinus, and bids arms be made ready [VII, 445-68].

It is in this terrific passage that we encounter the most blasting condemnation of the whole mad business which the poet achieves in all his work (461 f.):

*Saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli,
ira super.*

There, I think, Fairclough's "accursed frenzy of war" breaks down. Vergil's condemnation is more complete than that. He makes of it *criminal folly*! There follows (511-71) the account of Allecto's fiendish plot to array the Latins against the Trojans because of the killing by Ascanius of the pet stag, the plot's tragic results, and the final dismissal of Allecto, her work well done. Not without a definite reason does Vergil devote nearly 250 lines to demonstrating, in the person of this Horror of Hell, that the causes behind any war, even this holy war to gain Italy for its heaven-fated master, are hellish causes. In this Allecto incident one or two details seem especially significant. The house of Tyrrhus, the king's herdsman, rouses a people to war to avenge them for the killing of a pet stag. Explanations and apologies could have been made; the claims of justice met. But they could not wait for that. As the conflict begins, Almo, the eldest son of the aggressor, falls the first victim. Such is Vergil's quiet comment on the value of a war of retaliation! Meaningful, too, is the singling out of Galaesus, an old man, past the age for war-fever, a man of peace, busied in trying to make peace, a man of wealth and affairs, who falls second, almost as innocent a victim as the boy slain with him. The seemingly insignificant clash which precipitates the conflict is, of course, typical of the history of wars. The accidental shooting of a stag involved first a family, then some neighbors, then a city, finally a race. And in another touch, the poet shows himself an accurate observer of history and a prophet for the future. In all the delirious hubbub of preparation, when Turnus, maddened by the Fury's torch in his breast, is shrieking orders and bestirring his followers, Vergil makes him run true to form in the pious insistence that, under the gods, this is a *defensive* war.

Therefore, profaning peace, he orders his chief warriors to march upon Latinus, and bids arms be made ready. "Defend Italy," he cries, "drive the foe from her bounds; I come, a match for both Teucrians and Latins" [VII, 467-69].

Is not the poet quietly hinting that nobody ever admitted starting any other kind? Soon the storm breaks in all its foreshadowed fury. Much of it is pure horror. Now and then the heroism of its victims evokes a tribute; now from the lips of Jove himself,

Each has his day appointed; short and irretrievable is the span of life to all: but to lengthen fame by deeds — that is valour's task [x, 467-69];

now from the poet for the gallant foeman, Lausus,

And here death's cruel gloom and thy most glorious deeds — if so be that ancient days may win credence for such prowess — I in sooth will not leave unsung, nay, nor thyself, O youth, so worthy to be sung! [x, 791-93.]

and for the friends, Nisus and Euryalus,

Happy pair! If aught my verse avail, no day shall ever blot you from the memory of time, so long as the house of Aeneas shall dwell on the Capitol's unshaken rock, and the Father of Rome hold sovereign sway! [ix, 446-49.]

Vergil's sympathy for the victims, both innocent women and children and the combatants themselves, is unmistakable. He had already demonstrated that in the utterly pathetic passage (iii, 486-91) in which Andromache mourns her lost son, Astyanax, whose memory is agonizingly revived by the boyish features of the young Ascanius. Seven times¹⁸ in the carnage of the last six books, we have flashes of the misery and terror of mothers as they look on helplessly. I quote one:

On the walls mothers stand trembling and follow with their eyes the dusty cloud and the squadrons gleaming with brass [viii, 592 f.].

In a paper on "Vergil and the Under-Dog,"¹⁹ Professor Adelaide Hahn has dealt in detail with the passages which show the poet's pity for the unfortunate, which, she believes, developed as he matured and mellowed and reached its climax in Book xii, where he even evokes sorrow for Turnus! Human suffering was unquestionably one of the reasons for Vergil's hatred of war. It

¹⁸ vii, 518; viii, 556, 592-93; xi, 215-17, 475-76, 877 f.; xii, 131-33.

¹⁹ Cf. *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* lvi (1925), 185-212.

would be a work of supererogation here to cite the characters and incidents which Dr. Hahn has treated. One need only mention the young Nisus and Euryalus and their tragic and heroic end (ix, 230-45); the piteous lament of the mother of Euryalus (ix, 473-502); the bright figure of the young Pallas, foredoomed to die (viii, 104); the gallant Lausus, whose fate evokes a groan from Aeneas himself (x, 821-32), and the lament of the father of Lausus (x, 844-908); the war-weariness of Aeneas in his reply to the Latin envoys:

"What spiteful chance, ye Latins, has entangled you in so terrible a war, that ye fly from us, your friends? Do ye ask me peace for the dead slain by the lot of battle? Gladly would I grant it to the living too. Nor had I come, had not fate assigned me here a place and home, nor wage I war with your people: it is your king who forsook our alliance and preferred to trust himself to Turnus' sword. . . . Now go, and kindle the fire beneath your hapless countrymen." Aeneas ceased: they stood dumb in silence, and kept their eyes and faces turned on one another [xi, 108-21].

Then there is Evander's lament for his lost Pallas (xi, 148-81); the bitter conclusion, voiced by Drances to Turnus, "No safety is there in war" (xi, 362); the tender treatment of Camilla, the warrior-maid, inevitable victim (vii, 803-17; xi, 498-724, 816-31); Aeneas' melancholy words to Ascanius as he goes forth to the last battle with Turnus, "Learn valour from me, my son, and true toil; fortune from others" (xii, 435 f.); the poet's despairing question (xii, 500-04),

What god can now unfold for me so many horrors, who in song can tell such diverse deaths, and the fall of captains, whom now Turnus, now the Trojan hero drives in turn o'er all the plain? Was it thy will, O Jupiter, that in so vast a shock should clash nations that thereafter would dwell in everlasting peace?

There follows the tragic suicide of the queen mother, Amata (xii, 593-611) and the sympathy we cannot but feel for Turnus in his last hours, when, like a tired animal at bay, he fights on, knowing he is doomed (xii, 645-49, 665-68, 678-80). And finally one sees the pitiable figure he presents in the last scene, where the victorious Aeneas, about to spare his miserable life, is roused

instantaneously to the battle-lust by the sight of Pallas' belt, worn as a trophy by Turnus. So the end comes quickly (xii, 938-52). Of this passage, Professor Conway²⁰ says, "The hesitation of Aeneas, whether or not to spare the conquered Turnus, reflects the poet's own doubt as to the efficacy of force as a remedy."

The invocation (vii, 641-46) which precedes the so-called "Catalogue," or what Warde Fowler better distinguishes as "The Gathering of the Clans," seems to imply a completely conscious imitation here of Greek epic:

Now fling wide Helicon, ye goddesses, and wake your song — what kings were roused to war, what hosts, in the train of each, filled the plains, with what manhood even then kindly Italy bloomed, with what arms she was aglow; for ye, divine ones, remember, and can recount; to us scarcely is wafted some scant breath of fame.

In one line here, the poet contrasts the two sides of war — the beauty and charm of heroic souls, and the destroying blight of malevolent passion:

Floruerit terra alma viris, quibus arserit armis.

After that marshaling of the hosts, and that calling of the muster roll, carnage and blood are inevitable. One can only admit with distress that Vergil felt it necessary to follow the usual pattern, to glut the reader with gore and agony. Two or three samples will suffice:

Through the yielding air flies the Italian cornel-shaft, and lodging in the gullet, runs deep into the breast; the wound's dark chasm gives back a foaming tide, and the steel grows warm in the pierced lung [ix, 698-701].

So saying, he rises high upon his uplifted sword; the steel cleaves the brow in twain full between the temples, and with ghastly wound severs the beardless cheeks. There is a crash, earth is shaken by the vast weight; dying, he stretches on the ground his fainting limbs and brain-bespattered armour, while, lo! in equal halves his head dangles this way and that from either shoulder [ix, 749-55].

Down goes hapless Acron, hammers the black ground with his heels as he breathes his last, and dyes with blood the broken spear [x, 730 f.].

The poet's single lapse into complete barbarism is confined to

²⁰ Cf. R. S. Conway, *The Virgilian Age*: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1928), 65.

two short passages, referring to the same situation (x, 517-20; xi, 81 f.), where Aeneas' grief for the death of Pallas leads him to order human victims to be bound and set aside for sacrifice on the funeral pyre. With Mackail (*op. cit.* 105) "one can only . . . think or hope that the two lines [actually, six lines] might have been cancelled in his final revision." The same grief for his young friend is the basis for the passage of eighty-four lines (x, 521-605) in which Aeneas goes completely berserk, slaughters mercilessly, pays no heed to prayers for pity, hews, and gloats. One tell-tale line-and-a-half psycho-analyzes him for us here:

So Aeneas o'er the whole plain gluts his victorious rage, when once his sword grew warm.

The war-fury has him too!

The poet's characteristic avoidance of monotony in vocabulary is to be noticed in his references to war. The variants for *bellum* which a survey of Wetmore's *Index*²¹ shows is instructive and significant. In addition to the conventional personifications, *Mars* and *Mavors*, and the prose substitutes, *proelium* and *pugna*, we find a considerable number of nouns, every one of which expresses in some degree Vergil's sense of war's cruelty, folly, or futility. He makes Juno's tribute to the Fury Allecto include the words,

*Tibi nomina mille,
mille nocendi artes* (vii, 337 f.).

Some of these *nomina mille* which he himself uses, some of them as often as ten times, are *crimen*, *diluvium*, *discordia*, *furor*, *incendium*, *insidiae*, *ira*, *letum*, *minae*, *nubes*, *periculum*, *pestis*, *procella*, *rabies*, *strages*, and *tempestas*. The adjectives with which he characterizes these various synonyms for *bellum* are equally significant. Some of them he uses as many as five times. In the list are *asper*, *caecus*, *cruentus*, *crudelis*, *demens*, *dirus*, *durus*, *ferratus*, *gravis*, *horridus*, *impius*, *importunus*, *indomitus*, *infandus*, *insanus*, *lacrimabilis*, *mortiferus*, *nefandus*, *noxius*, *saevus*, *sanguineus*, *superbus*, and *tristis*.

²¹ Cf. Monroe N. Wetmore, *Index Verborum Vergilianus*: New Haven, Yale University Press (1911).

If the ideal of the new régime of Augustus was world-peace, it was an ideal to whose support Vergil could bring a whole-hearted enthusiasm, and the herald of which he speedily became. That his maturing years brought him an increasing sense of the "criminal folly" which had colored red the political background of his youth seems beyond question. No sincerer passage in all his work has evoked the world's admiration more completely than the universally familiar and often quoted lines (vi, 847-53) in which he enunciated his dream of Rome's service to civilization, a dream that was so prophetic as to be another reason for the mediaeval attribution to him of clairvoyant powers:

Others, I doubt not, shall beat out the breathing bronze with softer lines; shall from marble draw forth the features of life; shall plead their causes better; with the rod shall trace the paths of heaven and tell the rising of the stars: remember thou, O Roman, to rule the nations with thy sway — these shall be thine arts — to crown Peace with Law, to spare the humbled, and to tame in war the proud!

In an age so thoroughly disillusioned as our own to the value and legitimacy of war, in which whole populations subscribe so heartily to Vergil's verdict, *nulla salus bello* (xi, 362), and yet in which that longed-for *secura quies* and the ultimate deliverance from *perpetua formido* are still to be achieved, the great Mantuan's voice is still a living voice. And, still living, he would join with us, not as propagandist but as humanist, in anticipating the dawn — not now merely of a *Pax Augusta*, nor a *Pax Romana*, a peace imposed on the proud and maintained by military force — but a Peace bulwarked by that Law of which he sang, a Peace of confidence and honor, a Peace compounded of man's idealism and resting on belief in his fellow-man, a true *Pax humana!*

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

POLYCRATES OF RHODES

Himerius was no historian, but he knew his lyric poets and derived from them much interesting information. His wide reading makes him almost a first-hand authority, and every statement he makes about his favorite poets demands close attention. It is, therefore, surprising that not more notice has been taken of a passage where he speaks of a young Polycrates, the son of the famous tyrant of Samos. In *Orationes* xxxi, 4, he says: 'Ο δὲ Πολυκράτης οὗτος οὐ βασιλεὺς Σάμιου μόνον ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀπάσης θαλάσσης ὑφ' ἧς γαῖα ὀρίζεται· ὁ δὲ γοῦν τῆς Ῥόδου Πολυκράτης ἦρα μουσικῆς καὶ μελῶν, καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἔπειθε συμπρᾶξαι αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν τῆς μουσικῆς ἔρωτα· ὁ δὲ Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν μελοποιὸν μεταπεμφάμενος δίδωσι τῷ παιδί τοῦτον τῆς ἐπιθυμίας διδάσκαλον, ὑφ' ᾧ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀρετὴν ὁ παῖς διὰ τῆς λύρας πόνων τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν ἤμελλε πληρῶσειν εὐχὴν τῷ πατρὶ Πολυκράτει πάντων κρείσσων ἐσόμενος. According to Himerius, therefore, the tyrant Polycrates had a son of the same name who was taught by Anacreon, and this son was distinguished from his father by being called ὁ τῆς Ῥόδου Πολυκράτης. The words τῆς Ῥόδου have been obelized or altered to ὁ νεώτερος and the like, but a case can be made out for them from which some results follow.

The exact extent of the great Polycrates' rule is not known; but Herodotus, who was well informed about him and had access to Samian tradition, says (III, 39) that he συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νήσων ἀφαιρῆκε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄστεα, and Thucydides (I, 13, 6; cf. also III, 104, 2) confirms the general truth of his statement in rather more guarded terms, ἄλλας τε τῶν νήσων

ὑπηκόους ἐποίησατο καὶ Ῥήνειαν ἐλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ. If Polycrates occupied several islands, it is more than probable that he occupied Rhodes. Rhodes is not more than two days' sailing from Samos; and the north wind, which prevails in the summer months, would easily bring Samian ships to Lindus or Ialysus. Moreover, Rhodes was of vital importance to Polycrates. Lindus was an essential port of call for any Persian fleet sailing from the Syrian ports to the Aegean, and its Temple Chronicle records an offering made by Darius' general, Datis, who was besieging the town when a miraculous fall of rain occurred.¹ It is not clear from the entry (Δαρείου . . . ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐκπέμψαντος μεγάλας δυνάμεις) whether the occasion was in 490 or when the Persian fleet came to crush the Ionian revolt.² But in either case the entry shows the extreme importance of Rhodes to the Persians and, therefore, to Polycrates, who spent much of his time fighting them. In this struggle Rhodes had an additional importance for Polycrates in that it was an indispensable anchorage between Samos and Egypt, with whose king, Amasis, Polycrates was allied; cf. Herod. III, 39. It was probably not a mere coincidence when Amasis presented statues both to the temple of Athena at Lindus and to the temple of Hera at Samos; cf. Herod. II, 182. The statues were symbols of good will and indicated the strategic and political situation by which Amasis hoped to defend his kingdom against Persia. Rhodes, then, seems to have been one of the islands conquered and occupied by Polycrates. It follows that when his son is called "Polycrates of Rhodes," the words need not be a MS. corruption but may indicate that, following the example of Pisistratus and Periander, Polycrates put his son in charge of an important post in his empire.

An echo of this Samian occupation of Rhodes can be found in a fragment (Diehl 15) of Anacreon. Quoted by *Etym. Magnum* 713, 7 and *Et. Flor.*, 266, the text is undoubtedly

¹ Cf. C. Blinkenberg, *Die Lindische Tempelchronik*: Bonn, Marcus u. Weber (1915), 34-36.

² Cf. K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*: Strassburg, K. J. Trübner (1893), I, 2, 81-83.

Οὗτος δ' Ἰηλυσίους
τῶλει τοὺς κυανᾶσπιδας,

and we are told that here τῶλει means σκώπτει. Some one, then, is making fun of "the blue-shielded men of Ialysus," and this some one must be in Rhodes. It looks as if the Ialysians were proving troublesome and as if some one, perhaps even the younger Polycrates, were getting the verbal advantage of them. It is unlikely that Anacreon himself ever went to Rhodes, and the words must come from a poem written in Samos, perhaps to the tyrant in honor of his son's excellent work in his viceroyalty. The remarkable epithet κυανᾶσπιδας is too rare to be a stock epithet and suggests that Anacreon knew something about the Rhodian art of decorating metal with blue enamel, of which some evidences have survived. His two lines, short though they are, betray some knowledge of Rhodes and an interest in its doings which would be all the more natural if his old pupil were its governor.

The accession of the tyrant Polycrates to power is placed by Diodorus (x, 3) in 533 B.C., and in any case he was well in the saddle by 530. His death must have fallen before the death of Cambyses in 521. Eusebius places Anacreon's *floruit* in the sixty-second Olympiad (532-529), and it looks as if he based the date on Anacreon's arrival in Samos. So far the evidence gives a consistent and probable picture, but we may now go further and consider the relation of these conclusions to the life and work of another poet who enjoyed Samian hospitality, Ibycus. Eusebius places Ibycus in the sixty-first Olympiad (536-533), making him almost a contemporary of Anacreon, and this assignment suits well with the convivial and courtly character of his poetry. But unfortunately Suidas, *s.v.* Ἰβυκος, gives a different and contradictory account: Ἐνθένδε (*sc.*, from Rhegium) εἰς Σάμον ἦλθεν, ὅτε αὐτῆς ἦρχεν ὁ Πολυκράτης ὁ τοῦ τυράννου πατὴρ. χρόνος δὲ ἦν οὗτος ἐπὶ Κροίσου Ὀλυμπιάς νδ' (564-561). This places the arrival of Ibycus thirty years before the accession of Polycrates and disagrees with the date given by Eusebius. But as it stands, the notice is open to criticism. The father of Polycrates the tyrant was called not Polycrates but Aeaces (Herod. II, 182, III, 39 and

139, and vi, 13), and Suidas has got at least one important fact wrong. This leaves two alternatives: Either Suidas' entry is in the main right, and all that he has got wrong is the name of the tyrant's father; or he has got the dates wrong but is right in saying that Ibycus was at Samos in the time of a Polycrates, the father of another Polycrates.

Between these alternative possibilities good evidence helps us to decide. The poem of Ibycus found at Oxyrhynchus (*Ox. Pap.* xv [1922], No. 1790) closes with an elaborate compliment: Beautiful as the son of Hyllis was, Troilus was far more beautiful than he, and in company with him must Polycrates be named:

Τῷ δ' ἄρα Τρώϊον
ὥσει χρυσὸν ὄρει -
χάλκῳ τρις ἄπεφθον ἦδη
Τρῶες Δαναοί τ' ἐρόεσσαν
μορφὰν μάλ' εἰσκον ὅμοιον.
τοῖς μὲν πέδα κάλλεος αἰέν.
καὶ σύ, Πολύκρατες, κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔξεις,
ὥς κατ' αἰδᾶν καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος.

"To him Trojans and Danaans compared Troilus in his lovely beauty as if gold already thrice purified were likened to mountain copper. They have their portion of beauty for ever; and thou also, Polycrates, shalt have everlasting fame, even as my fame shall be everlasting in song." Wilamowitz³ thought that the boy here addressed was the future tyrant and accepted Suidas' date for Ibycus' arrival in Samos.⁴ But on closer consideration this view is seen to be untenable. The boy Polycrates is here honored with a choric ἐγκώμιον, composed in strophe, antistrophe, and epode and not ultimately dissimilar from Pindar's ἐγκώμια to Alexander of Macedon and Hiero of Syracuse. Such songs were sung at feasts in princes' halls, and the point of the elaborate finale here is that Polycrates is compared with the son of the Trojan king,

³ Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Pindaros*: Berlin, Weidmann (1922), 512.

⁴ I accepted this view also when describing the poem of Ibycus in J. U. Powell, *New Chapters in Greek Literature*, third series: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1933), 34.

another prince renowned for his beauty. Polycrates must be a prince and he must be young. Now there is no evidence that Aeaces was ever tyrant of Samos or ever in a position for his son to be complimented on a festal occasion as a prince. Aeaces, indeed, seems to have been no more than a successful pirate⁵ who never attempted to be tyrant of Samos. His son, Polycrates, moreover, is explicitly said by Herodotus to have won his position by his own rebellious efforts; cf. Herod. III, 39: "Ἔσχε Σάμιον ἐπαναστάς. It follows that the young prince here honored by Ibycus is not the future tyrant but his son, known to Himerius as Polycrates of Rhodes. Ibycus is after all a contemporary of Anacreon, and all falls into its place except the muddled notice in Suidas.

What then are we to make of Suidas' entry? He is too valuable a witness to be lightly dismissed, and much of his notice remains true. He is right in recording the existence of a father and his son, both called Polycrates, and right in associating Ibycus with the father. He is wrong in making the younger man the tyrant and wrong in his date of 564-561. It is, of course, possible to assume MS corruption or the omission of important words. But neither leads to satisfactory results. Emendations, such as ἦρχεν Αἰάκης ὁ Πολυκράτους or ὁ Πολυκράτους τοῦ τυράννου πατῆρ, still leave Aeaces in the position of a ruling prince, and that is against the evidence. It is more likely that Suidas, or his authority, has got muddled; and the sources of his mistake are not far to seek. It was plain from poems, like that found at Oxyrhynchus, that two men were called Polycrates and that Ibycus wrote a poem of homage to the younger while employed by the elder. So much Suidas saw in his texts and recorded it. But then he got his dates wrong, making Ibycus a contemporary of Croesus, and he did this because he misunderstood a reference in Ibycus' work. Ibycus (Frag. 18, Diehl) writes:

Οὐδὲ Κυάρας ὁ Μηδείων στραταγός,

and there can be little doubt that he is referring to Cyrus, who had conquered Croesus in 546 but survived till 528. Ibycus may

⁵ Cf. P. N. Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny*: Cambridge, University Press (1922), 81.

well have referred to the conquest of Croesus by him; and the ancient chronologers, who worked much on such references, assumed that Croesus and Ibycus were contemporaries and fixed the date for both at 564-561, which is early even for Croesus. Misled in this way, Suidas placed Ibycus a generation early; and in order to keep the right date for Polycrates, he made Ibycus' host the father of the tyrant instead of the tyrant himself and failed altogether to name the tyrant's son, Polycrates of Rhodes, to whom actually Ibycus wrote his complimentary verses.

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VERGIL, *ECLOGUE* IV, 50

Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum

In his book on the earlier poems of Vergil¹ Norman DeWitt takes this line as referring to the autumnal equinox, finding in it support for the view that the *Eclogue* was composed toward the end of the year 40 B.C. Norden,² who places the composition at the end of 41 B.C. as a tribute to Pollio on his entrance into his consular year (he was not actually consul until October), thinks verse 50 expresses the response of the world to divinity. He understands *nutantem* as a trembling or quivering with joy at the appearance of the Vergilian Soter — "Behold the universe trembling in its vaulted mass." This version has a rather long history. It appears first in the Heyne edition of 1767, where it is set forth at some length. The rendering in one form or another has been accepted by virtually all succeeding editors. There is one skeptical voice, that of Henry Nettleship.

Nettleship did not indicate the grounds of his skepticism, but they can easily be supplied. In the first place, a trembling or quivering or reeling universe is an extravagance incongruous with the rest of the *Eclogue* and with Latin and Greek feeling (cf., e.g., Horace, *Car.* iii, 18, 9-15, and particularly the opening lines of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*). Also, verse 50 cannot

¹ *Virgil's Biographia Literaria*: Toronto, Victoria College Press (1923), 146.

² *Die Geburt des Kindes*: Leipzig, B. G. Teubner (1924), 4.

be separated from verse 51, in which, it is conceded, the poet is merely calling the attention of the ruler to a part of his great world. In the third place, there is no Latin or Greek parallel for this meaning of *nutare*, which has to be supported by Jewish similarities, such as *Psalms* 114, 7: "Tremble thou earth at the presence of the Lord." The explanation of Servius, to which Nettleship inclines, is much more sober: *nutat praesentibus malis*, "it bows under its weight of evils," and has at least one element of truth.

The whole truth of Vergil's conception seems to me something more real and characteristic. Let us begin with *mundum*, which has here its very frequent meaning of "the heavens." This is shown by its contrast with *terras*, *tractus maris*, and *caelum* (which last it includes). The usage is illustrated in Lucan, *Pharsalia* iv, 110 f., where Neptune, as controller of the clouds and storms, is addressed as *summe parens mundi* and, in his capacity as ruler of the deep, as *aequorei rector . . . tridentis*. But Vergil was thinking not of an indefinite *mundus* but of one *convexo . . . pondere*, heavens that were vaulted. It is the dome vault, already current in Roman architecture, which Vergil has in mind and which he conceives as having its circular base on the earth and as rising to its concave summit overhead — a great rounded dome, lit with stars at night and forming with the earth a mighty and glorious universe.

We have now to consider *nutantem*. How should Vergil employ here this apparently trivial word? Nodding is usually a recurrent movement — a downward motion from a normal position and a more or less quick return. It is usually voluntary, in which case it gives assent (whether or not it was used by the Romans in salutation seems uncertain). When involuntary it may become swaying, wavering, tottering, staggering — all signs of impending disaster, never of success or joy. There is one more phase of nodding in which an object departs under its weight from a normal position and does not return; i.e., it sags or bends or droops. This somewhat rare use of *nutare* is represented by at least two significant examples: Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* ii, 263: *dum rami pondere nutant*; and Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* xvii, 22, 15 (of a vine

standing alone) : *huic vineae trium pedum altitudo excelsior nutat*. It is this use of the word which I think we have in verse 50. The heavenly vault does not maintain its perfect position but has bent or spread under its heavy weight, so that it has a certain flatness at the top. The weight and burden of the world were proverbial; the line records this impression and introduces a well observed and characteristically Roman conception: "Behold the vault of heaven bending under its heavy weight."

JEFFERSON ELMORE

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

AN OLD-TIME REWARD OF MERIT

Among my books is one that has opposite its title page a printed form of presentation, with blank spaces for filling in the necessary names, etc. With the filled-in names and words indicated by parentheses, it reads thus:

Bonae spei ac liberalis ingenii adolescentulo (Gulielmo D. Vick) hoc incitamentum laudis & virtutis praemium in Classe (Quinta) publice dabant Ampliss. Dd. Coss. & Scholarchae Amstelodamenses.

Ita testor (Cornelius Stadius) Gymnasii publici in (veteri) urbis regione Rector. Examine (verno). MDCXLIV.

This form is ornamented with a woodcut in which two lions, a crown, and a wreath are prominent.

And what was this eagerly coveted prize? The title page tells us: *M. Terentii Varronis Omnia Opera Quae Extant*. There is an abundance of notes, by Scaliger, Turnebus, and other eminent scholars, all of them, of course, in Latin. Evidently there was in Amsterdam three centuries ago no Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Yet not too much sympathy should be wasted on Master Willie Vick, for the extreme cleanness of the more than a thousand pages convinces me that he never took the trouble to read them. But this volume, bound in vellum and stamped in gold on both covers with the lions, crown, and wreath, must have been for many years an outstanding adornment for his book shelves.

W. A. ELLIS

LOMBARD, ILL.

Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Columbia, Missouri. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

WILLEM L. GRAFF, *Language and Languages*, An Introduction to Linguistics: New York, D. Appleton and Co. (1932). Pp. xlv + 487. \$4.

This book by the associate professor of Germanic languages in McGill University is a general introduction to the science of language, summing up the progress of linguistic study within the last generation. It is designed for the general reader as well as for the professional student and is the best book of its kind in English in the field.

For many years language study has been largely occupied with the study of the derivation of words and in tracing the relationship of the modern languages to the parent stocks. Now the student of linguistics must try to get light on his subject from many sciences, from physiology, psychology, physics, anthropology, ethnology, and sociology, if it can be called a science. We are approaching the old Greek idea of the unity of learning, and the scope of linguistics in its broadest sense is coming to be almost coextensive with the whole life of man.

Before taking up in detail some of the special topics of this comprehensive work, it may be well to give a statement of its contents. Part I, Constituents and Mechanism (pp. 3-214), is divided into five chapters under the following rubrics: The Phonetic Element in Language; Meaning; Units of Signification; Accentuation; Categorizing in Language. Part II, Drift and Diversification (pp. 215-436), treats of Phonetic Change; Causes of Phonetic and Linguistic Change; Changes Involving Meaning; Principles of Language Classification; the Indo-European

Family; the Non-Indo-European Languages. The volume closes with a Bibliography and Index.

Each caption is carefully divided and subdivided into the particular topics discussed. Thus confusion is avoided. There are twenty-three illustrations and diagrams and a linguistic map of the world, a great convenience for the reader. The author also furnishes a table of phonetic and other symbols and a copious glossary of especial value to the nontechnical reader. In the full bibliography of books and articles 601 titles are listed; and of this number only 69 were published prior to 1900, thus indicating that the science of language is viewed as in the main the product of the twentieth century.

In Chapter I, the Phonetic Element in Language, the author explains the various aspects by which speech sounds may be studied — physical, articulatory, acoustic, psychological. He then discusses the genetic point of view of articulatory sound production, illustrates with diagrams the organs of speech (pp. 11-16), and continues with an explanation of how consonants and vowels are produced.

After a brief treatment of meaning in general there follows (pp. 79-93) a careful analysis of meaning in language, a subject which has only of late begun to have the attention which it deserves. The meaning of symbols is now coming much to the fore. The meaning that a listener to a discourse understands is rather complex. For a thorough recent treatment of the philosophy of meaning I would refer the reader to Ogden and Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*.¹

Perhaps the author's discussion of phonetic change will be of most interest to the classical teacher, although for a special authoritative treatment of Greek and Latin he will turn to Buck's *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*.²

Doctor Graff does excellent work in controverting the neo-

¹ C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*, a Study of the Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism. Third edition revised: New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co. (1930).

² Carl Darling Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*: University of Chicago Press (1933).

grammarians who have formulated phonetic laws as "laws of nature" and have overstressed their invariability. Phonetics as a science was first used in the study of etymology. Later mechanical and physiological laws were formulated for sound changes without regard to meaning. So many variations and exceptions were discovered that the regularity and operation of these laws had to be greatly restricted. As the author states, "The pretentious theory of the neogrammarians has crumbled down to a point where even the term 'law' has become irrelevant, not to mention its exceptionless application. The maximum of meaning that can be given to what still goes by the name of 'phonetic law' is that at a certain time and in a given dialect a certain sound changed to another under certain phonetic conditions" (p. 249).

The author's treatment of the causes of linguistic and phonetic change (pp. 258-318) is an acute piece of criticism. He examines the various theories of the cause of change in language, such as climate, modification of the speech organs, cultural conditions, economy of labor, and finds that no one of these causes can give an adequate explanation of the changes in any one language or in the creation of different groups of languages. A recent theory is examined which claims that biological heredity has been the cause of linguistic change. This analogy is interesting, but, as the author says, it is impossible to prove how far race mixture has been effective in permanent changes in language.

To the reviewer the most interesting chapter of the book is that entitled "Changes Involving Meaning" (pp. 277-318). In this field the modern living languages have the advantage of the classical languages. In this connection may I refer to a well-known book published over a generation ago, Bréal's *Semantics*.³ It seems to me that special dictionaries of all the Greek and Latin authors recording as far as possible the meaning of words and the time of their occurrence will be the useful work of coming generations of classical scholars.

³ Michael Bréal, *Semantics: Studies in the Science of Meaning*. Translated by Mrs. Henry Cust, with a preface by J. P. Postgate: New York, Henry Holt and Co. (1900).

The belief in the natural superiority of certain races to the extent that they are predestined to world dominion has been greatly shaken by the events of the last few years. Now that the world is being brought together by scientific communication the student of language may well interest himself in all the families of languages of mankind, non-Indo-European as well as Indo-European. Language does to some extent throw light on national character and is an important key to the mind of other races. The serious student of linguistic science will do well to read and reread this book. It will open up to him many lines of research according to his own special interests.

HENRY S. SCRIBNER

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

GILBERT MURRAY, *Aristophanes, A Study*: New York, Oxford University Press (1933). Pp. xii + 268. \$2.50.

Professor Murray's writings and reputation are too well known to require elaboration by me. If one lays down this volume with a certain degree of disappointment, the author has already forestalled him with his opening sentence: "There is little or no research in this book." Equally disarming are his words on page x:

Of course when I look again at the pages of those from whom I have learnt so much, . . . and many fine living scholars, I feel that in the points where I venture to differ from them I may well be wrong.

The *raison d'être* of the book is set forth as follows:

If I have been moved to write it, the reason is that I have long felt dissatisfied both with the accounts of Aristophanes which seem to be generally accepted, and notably with the chapter upon him in my own *Ancient Greek Literature* published in 1897. It is only late in life that I have learnt to care for Aristophanes and, I hope, to understand him [p. vii].

With some justice the author maintains (pp. viii f.) that misjudgments of Aristophanes arise from three causes: (a) an inability to classify a man who "does not fit any of our present-day pigeonholes"; (b) repugnance at the seeming coarseness of his language which is to be explained on anthropological grounds

(i.e., the origin of comedy in phallic ritual [cf. pp. 1-11]); and (c) the alleged fact that in the use of humor

ancient Greece and modern England sometimes seem to stand alone against the rest of the world, much as they do in their idealization of "sportsmanship." It is characteristic of both that we do not think of laughter as necessarily, or even usually, unkind . . . we in England habitually laugh at the things we love and respect far more than at those which we hate . . . the majority of critics credit Aristophanes with a grim and conscientious hatred of all the things he laughs at — notably such objects as Euripides, Socrates, and women.

To nine chapters dealing with the various plays grouped under convenient catch phrases are added a chapter on "Menander and the Transformation of Comedy" (pp. 221-63) "for the sake of contrast," a Chronological Table (pp. 264-66), and an Index (pp. 267 f.).

It is patently impossible to discuss the details of Murray's treatment here. I enjoyed especially his discussion of Socrates' relation to the *Clouds* (pp. 85-102; the comic treatment, he thinks, was not intentionally unfriendly but came to seem so by the "change of atmosphere" in the course of a quarter century) and the numerous parallels drawn from the history and literatures of other times and other climes (cf. pp. 86, 100, 111, 179 f., 218 f., 230, 233 f., 241-43, 245, and 262). The author confesses (p. 111) that "there has been a curious reluctance to admit the obvious conclusion that it [*sc.* Attic comedy] is based on a religious rite"; and there is welcome relief in the relatively unimportant rôle assigned to the Year-Baby (p. 231), *Kômos-Gamos* (p. 38), the Year-God (p. 240), etc. Nevertheless, he states that even in New Comedy are found "certain reminiscences of Dionysiac myths and a tendency, *not yet extinct in comedy*, to end with a romantic marriage" (p. 7, italics mine). Does Professor Murray really think that a modern playwright employs such an ending either consciously or unconsciously as a result of ancient phallic rites or in abject imitation of Aristophanes or Menander? Writers of comedy, modern and ancient alike, found that this *dénouement* left a pleasant taste in the mouths of their public and so have continued to use it regardless of other considerations. What rea-

son is there to suppose that Aristophanes and Menander did not act upon the same impulse? Nor do I consider that the author is happy in his discussion of χοροῦ (pp. 195, 201 f., and 239), particularly in failing to connect this development with Agathon's *embolima*.¹

There are no illustrations except a medallion on the front cover. I detected only one misprint, the omission of "of" in the first line on page 73. The lazy man's practice of using "ff" in references is followed, but of course the author is one of the *multo plures* in that.

As a whole the work is to be commended as a fresh restatement of old problems by a literary artist and distinguished scholar.

ROY C. FLICKINGER

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

ERNEST A. GARDNER, *Greece and the Aegean*: London, George G. Harrap and Co. (1933). Pp. 254. 7s. 6d.

The object of the book is given on page 7:

It is hoped that those who have visited or are visiting Greece may find the present volume of use, to prepare them for what they are to see, to assist them to appreciate and understand what they are seeing, or to recall to their memory what they have seen.

In this the author has succeeded admirably. It is a pleasure to read a book so well written. The quotations from ancient authors are well chosen, so well that more frequent quotations would have been welcome.

The practical character of the book is quite evident from its table of contents. The first four chapters are introductory: I. The Approach to Athens; II. The Interest of Greece; III. Travel in Greece; IV. The Greek People. These chapters give many interesting and useful facts without descending to the dry character of a formal guidebook. Chapters V, VI, and VII are devoted to Athens and its environs. Two chapters are then given to the description of

¹ Cf. the reviewer's *The Greek Theater and Its Drama*³: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1926), 92 f. and 144-49.

Mid-Greece, an entire chapter being devoted to Delphi. Those interested in early Greece will regret that there is no reference to Gla. Northern Greece is next discussed (Chapter x). This includes Acarnania, Thessaly, Saloniki, and Athos. Dodona has not been included and little is said about Thermopylae that will be helpful to the traveler on the spot. Chapters xi, xii, and xiii deal with the Peloponnesus. "The Islands" is the subject of Chapter xiv, and "The Coast of Asia Minor" of Chapter xv. The book closes with a helpful chapter on Constantinople written by Stanley Casson.

The writer of this review must confess to a certain feeling of disappointment on closing the book. It is quite true that in 214 pages very little space can be given to any site, but such descriptions as we have here (of, e.g., the Cyclades, pp. 180 ff.) are too brief to create an atmosphere of literary or artistic interest and as factual collections they are not even so good as the book of Baedeker. It is hard to see why in discussing the Ionian Islands no space is given to Zacynthus. This may be excused, for the book is "Greece and the Aegean"; but in that case why are Lesbos, Chios, Samothrace, Thasos, Siphnos, etc. never discussed? Can it be that this book is intended only for those who are fortunate enough to take one of the cruises sponsored by Sir Henry S. Lunn, who contributes to the volume a two-page preface?

Gardner's long acquaintance with Greece is a guarantee of the accuracy of the book as a whole. In some minor details it seems to me to be incorrect. The so-called prison of Socrates is not on the Pnyx Hill (p. 63) but on the Hill of the Muses. The revival of the Olympic Games occurred in 1896, not in 1898 (p. 68). The excavation of the Athenian Agora should not be mentioned as "under consideration" (p. 70) in a book published in 1933 when two campaigns of excavation were wholly complete and a third well under way. Local museums do not house archaeological finds only at Olympia and Delphi (p. 72) but notably also at Corinth, Sparta, Volo, Thebes, Chalcis, and many other sites. The walls of Piraeus which can be seen today were not built by Themistocles (p. 86) but by Conon. One cannot walk "right round the coast"

of Piraeus (p. 86), because the grounds of the naval station beyond the custom house are not open to the public. The modern Marathon race is not "a reminiscence of the race of Phidippides from Athens to Sparta" (p. 99) but of that famous runner's last race from Marathon to Athens to announce the Athenian victory. The roof of the burial chamber at Orchomenus is spoken of as "now fallen" (p. 198). This gives a wrong impression; for the roof that had fallen has long since been replaced in its original position. The metopes of the Syracusan treasury at Delphi are not curved (p. 117). The Palamidi at Nauplia is not "now used for a prison" (p. 141); the prisoners were all removed years ago. The "prehistoric" remains on the Aspis at Argos (p. 142) are not nearly so conspicuous as the remains of later monuments there. The well (really a cistern) is not "built in the thickness of the wall" (p. 144) at Mycenae but is outside the wall altogether. The famous quotation from Thucydides in which he says that later generations could not infer the greatness of Sparta from the remains of its temples and public buildings is followed by the statement that "he doubtless had a comparison with Athens in mind" (p. 169). This seems to me misleading; for Thucydides in the very next sentence (I, 10, 2) definitely does compare Athens to Sparta. The upper end of Polycrates' tunnel at Samos is choked up, and it is not possible to "walk right through" (p. 211).

Mr. Casson's chapter on Constantinople is excellent as far as it goes (and the chapter doubtless goes to the limit allowed by the publisher), but why should he tell us that "we must have either an intelligent and educated guide or a detailed and accurate map" (p. 225) and then furnish us with a map (p. 227) which is of no possible use to any one not provided with a microscope and a divining rod?

The volume under review, excellent as it is, only emphasizes still more the long-felt need of a full and accurate guide to the Greek Islands.

LOUIS E. LORD

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Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell of Oberlin, Ohio. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

Word Ancestry and Spelling

Shall we spell it "ferule," or "ferrule"? Well, that depends. These are not variants in spelling the same word but are two different words, distinct both in meaning and origin, though each of them is often misused for the other. It was my encountering within three days the misuse of both these words that made me think something ought to be done about it.

Even if we have never felt a ferule, we know what it is — that ruler which the schoolmaster in earlier days found so convenient and so efficacious in causing palms to smart. Ouch! We feel almost that it should be derived from *ferire*, "to strike"; but the etymologists will not permit it. First of all *ferula* was the name of a plant, and it is still so used in the Latin of botany. Next it was a slender branch, then a staff or walking-stick, then a whip or rod, the instrument of punishment. But enough of this. Those barbarous days are gone.

A ferrule, according to Webster, is a ring or cap of metal put round a cane, tool handle, or similar object, to strengthen it and prevent splitting and wearing. A glance at this word makes one think of *ferrum*, "iron." It looks as if it might be a diminutive form, meaning a small metal object. But again the etymologists warn us away. There is a Latin word *viriola* meaning "a little bracelet." This, like many another word, was altered during the centuries in pronunciation and spelling. The late Latin *virola* gave

the French *virole*, which was corrupted into the early English "verrel," and this later became "ferrule," our present form. And be it noted, this change from "v" to "f" is said to be due to the confusing of the word with *ferrum*, which came so near to fooling us.

WILLIS A. ELLIS

LOMBARD, ILL.

The Deans of Medical Schools and Law Schools on the Value of Latin

The deans of medical schools and law schools through the country still believe that Latin is essential, or of large value, in the preparation of their students. Grayson N. Kefauver, dean-elect of the School of Education, Stanford University, and Gordon N. Mackenzie, acting superintendent of school at Glencoe, Illinois, have learned the judgments of forty-eight deans of medical schools and thirty-seven deans of law schools as to what subjects are of most value in preparation for professional studies. Of the medical school deans 23% regard Latin as essential, 68.8% regard it as of "large value." Only in the case of the sciences (chemistry, physics, biology, zoology) was there a more complete agreement as to the value of a subject in the preparation for medicine.¹ A similar consensus of opinion exists among the deans of the law schools. Of them 24.3% believe Latin essential, 62.2% believe it of great value. Only economics, modern history, and American history were more often declared to be either essential or of large value.² The authors of the survey conclude:

This summary of the judgments of deans of law schools who direct the training of our lawyers should be of value in a consideration of the pre-professional training of lawyers. While their judgments may reflect a traditional academic point of view, it represents the best informed judgment that can be obtained. . . . Latin is judged to be important for its cultural and mental training values and its contribution to the study of law. The same values are given to French, although to a lesser degree. One-fifth of the deans recommended the placement of Latin in the high school curriculum, one-fourth would place it in either the high school or

¹ "The Value of Secondary School Subjects in the Preparation for Medicine," *California Quarterly of Secondary Education* VIII (January, 1933), 166.

² "The Value of Secondary School Subjects in the Preparation for Law," *California Quarterly of Secondary Education* VIII (June, 1933), 389.

the college, while one-half the deans believe it deserves attention on both levels. Over 95 per cent favor its being studied at the high school level.³

The authors refer to an earlier study by Herbert Sorenson of the University of Minnesota, on "High School Subjects as Conditioners of College Success."⁴ For freshmen students of Northwestern University Sorenson made a statistical study of the relationship between high school subjects presented for admission and college scholarship. To make the comparison less controvertible, intelligence test ability and high school marks were kept constant. He reached the following conclusions:

1. There is an apparent relationship between the amount of various subjects studied in high school and college scholarship.

2. Latin differentiates according to college success more markedly than does any other subject. French and mathematics do so to a less degree.

3. When intelligence and high school scholarship are controlled, Latin still constitutes a differentiating factor.

4. There is a suggestion that Latin develops students into good students.

5. There is probably no evidence that Latin trains a common mental factor or capacity.

6. Linguistic factor or factors as well as mathematical ones seem to exist.

7. The existence of these factors may be due to both training and selection.

8. Success in Latin marks a student as being a good one. If the study of Latin is considered a worth-while experience, capable students should engage in it.

WILLIAM M. GREEN

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Financing a Latin Newspaper

We have not found the financing of our Latin newspaper, *Loquax*, entirely easy. Last year we got \$13 from ads (75c for an inch, 50c for a half inch), but the cost of printing 1,000 or

³ *Ibid.*, 394.

⁴ H. Sorenson, "High School Subjects as Conditioners of College Success: Implications and Theories Concerning Mental Factors and Faculties," *Journal of Educational Research* xix (April, 1929), 237-254.

1,200 copies is always \$50 or more. We have each year represented the modern language department with some French, Spanish, and German contributions; and the printing firm says that the printing is consequently expensive.

Then, too, we try to make the paper a popular one. We have 500 students in our department and we sell them 100 per cent. But we try to sell from 300 to 400 copies outside the department. In addition we give several free copies to each eighth grade teacher in the grade schools. One year we managed to supply a free copy to each prospective high school freshman. Our principals thought that we had some increase in enrollment because of this distribution.

The fact that we try to interest students outside the Latin department accounts for a lot of very light and frivolous material in each issue. We try to maintain a judicious balance of more serious articles but are not always completely successful. The work is all original, and although I supervise it very closely and require a good deal of rewriting, while I watch papers and magazines for ideas to suggest to pupils, the work is almost wholly the students' own and is purely voluntary. I encourage two or even more students to work on one subject because I want as many students as possible represented in the paper. For the same reason I also use large committees for the staff work.

BERNICE S. ENGLE

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL
OMAHA, NEB.

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Eugene Tavenner, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

New York City

A Latin radio program was broadcast December 13, 1933, at 4:45 p.m. over station WNYC by Charles A. Tonsor, principal; Grace Light, head of the department of classical languages; and a group of Cicero students of the Grover Cleveland High School, New York City. The lesson was an interpretation of sight reading of Caesar's speech on the punishment of the Catilinarian conspirators as given in Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*.

Three hundred and fifty students attended the annual convivium held by the Latin club of the school on November 10, 1933.

Madison, Wisconsin

A marionette performance of Aristophanes' *Frogs* will be produced by the undergraduate class in Greek drama before the classical club of the University of Wisconsin on February 26. Rogers' translation is being used. The marionettes, which came from Palermo, are being costumed by members of the class, and the control of them on the stage and the reading of the lines behind the scenes will be divided among the members. Scenery for the four episodes, "On the Road to Hades," "Crossing the Styx," "At Pluto's Gateway," "In Pluto's Palace," has been painted on beaverboard. The class is enjoying the rehearsals and hopes that the audience will find the final performance equally amusing.

Louisville, Kentucky

A Latin assembly program was given in November at the Parkland Junior High School, Louisville, Kentucky, under the direction of Ernestine Givens. An American boy and girl who disliked Latin because they had "to study about those poky old Romans who were dull and uninteresting and were not human at all" were transported to a Roman school of two thousand years ago. The Roman children, dressed in togas, talked before school about their games and their visits to the chariot races in the Circus Maximus. Roman customs and Roman history were introduced in many different ways.

Talks were also given by two of the ninth grade pupils on the dress of the Roman men and women. They were assisted by a boy and girl, dressed in Roman costume to illustrate their talks.

Kentucky Classical Association

The fifteenth annual meeting of the Kentucky Classical Association was held in Louisville on December 1 and 2, 1933, under the auspices of the University of Louisville and the Louisville Male High School. The following papers were read: "Quintilian's Progressive Ideals," by Ruth Driskill, Bowling Green High School; "The Latin Tournament," by Sister Margaret Gertrude, Nazareth Junior College; "A Study of Literacy in the First Century as Indicated by the Papyri," by W. Hershey Davis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; "The Origin and Chief Characteristics of Mediaeval Latin," by Sister Mary Amadeus, St. Catherine's Junior College; "Latin Considered from the Viewpoint of the High School Student," by Brother Sylvan, St. Xavier High School, Louisville; "Latin in Early Days in Kentucky," by Sibyl Stonecipher, Western State Teachers College; "Horace in Spain," by Carmen Olivieri, Puerto Rico (a student at Nazareth College); and "Extra-Constitutional Authority in Roman Government between 133 and 27 B.C.," by Molly T. B. Coyle, Louisville Public Schools. W. S. Milburn, principal of the Louisville Male High School, delivered the greetings to the Association at the opening of the meeting. The local committee consisted of R. A. Kent, president of the University of Louisville, and J. R. Boyd, L. C. Wetherell, and Jonah W. D. Skiles of the Louisville Public Schools. The meeting was characterized by the unusually good quality of the papers. On the night of December 1 the members of the Association were the guests of the University of Louisville at a presentation of Milne's *Ivory Door* staged by the University Players. The music department of the Louisville Male High School furnished music at both sessions at which papers were read.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: President,

Sister Margaret Gertrude, Nazareth Junior College; Vice President, Brother Carl, St. Xavier High School, Louisville; Secretary-Treasurer, J. R. Boyd, Louisville Male High School; Secretary of Extension, Alice Record, Centre College; and Corresponding Secretary, Ruth Driskill, Bowling Green High School. An invitation from Centre College, Danville, Kentucky, was accepted for the next meeting to be held in the fall of 1934.

University of Kansas

Dean Joseph Granger Brandt, dean of the college of the University of Kansas, died on October 28, 1933. He was born in 1880, graduated from Lawrence College, Wisconsin, in 1903, received the degree of Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin in 1911, and studied during the following year in the American School of Classical Studies in Rome as Carnegie Research Associate. He was instructor and assistant professor of Latin and Greek in the University of Wisconsin from 1906 to 1915. He came to Kansas in 1915 as assistant professor of Greek, was associate professor of Latin and Greek from 1916 to 1921, was appointed acting dean in 1920, and in 1921 was made professor and dean. Both as teacher and as dean he was eminently successful, having the respect and liking of both students and faculty. In his tribute at the memorial services Chancellor Lindley said of him:

"Dean J. G. Brandt was a fine example of the scholar and gentleman. A Wisconsin farm boy, he was 'born to be educated.' Endowed with a fine brain, he found the pursuit of a liberal education a great and glorious adventure. He explored the cultures of Greece and Rome with the same zest that Byrd sought the South Pole. The best of the cultures of the classic ages was wrought into the texture of his life. It found expression in a passion for excellence, in integrity of character, and in a passion that youth might share in the great heritage."

St. Louis, Missouri

On November 10 the Classics Section of the Missouri State Teachers Association met at the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis. The program was divided into morning and afternoon sections with a luncheon between. The morning program consisted of the following papers: "A Summer in Greece" (illustrated), Frederic W. Horner, John Burroughs School, St. Louis; "The Roman Lemuralia," Margaret Dyer, Mary Institute, St. Louis; "The Roman Treatment of History in Bas-Reliefs," (illustrated), Kathryn Hankins, Lindenwood College, St. Charles.

The afternoon session opened with "The Classics as a Haven of Rest for the Banker in Times Like These," William McChesney Martin, Gov-

ernor of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; "Twenty Minutes with the Greek Lyric Poets," William C. Korfmacher, St. Louis University; "The Privileges and Responsibilities of the Teacher of the Classics," Frederick William Shipley, Washington University.

The papers were of unusual excellence and the meeting was without doubt one of the most stimulating ever held in the history of this organization.

Christmas Meetings

The Christmas meetings of the American Philological Association, Archaeological Institute, and Linguistic Society were held in Washington, D.C., December 27-30, and the program of papers was delivered substantially as scheduled. The attendance was perhaps the largest in the history of the organizations, 362 being registered, of whom 222 were members of the American Philological Association, 156 of the Institute, and 76 of the Linguistic Society. At the annual banquet on the second evening 316 guests listened to a scholarly address by Rhys Carpenter of Bryn Mawr College on "Homer and the Archaeologists." The new president of the Philological Association is Elizabeth H. Haight of Vassar College, with Berthold L. Ullman of the University of Chicago and William A. Oldfather of the University of Illinois as First and Second Vice President respectively. Roy C. Flickinger of the University of Iowa was reelected Secretary-Treasurer, and Joseph W. Hewitt of Wesleyan University Editor of Publications. The second volume in the new Monograph Series, C. A. Forbes' *NEOI, A Study of Greek Associations*, was on display at the meeting. For the Institute most of the officers were reelected, including President Louis E. Lord of Oberlin College and General Secretary Clarence Ward, also of Oberlin. Roland G. Kent of the University of Pennsylvania was reelected Secretary of the Linguistic Society, while the new president is Franklin Edgerton of Yale University. Next year's meeting of the Association and the Institute will be held in Toronto, December 27-29, 1934.

At the luncheon of the Advisory Council of the American Academy Miss Haight was elected chairman for 1934 and William T. Semple of the University of Cincinnati chairman of the Classical Jury in succession to John C. Rolfe of the University of Pennsylvania, who resigned after many years of devoted service.

Sixty friends of Horace met at a special luncheon to plan for the celebration of the Horace bimillennium in 1935. General Chairman Flickinger presided and called upon Louis E. Lord, William M. Barber of the Bureau of University Travel, George H. Allen of Lafayette University, and Rollin H. Tanner of New York University for brief talks. The greatest enthusiasm was manifested.

Recent Books¹

[Compiled by Russel M. Geer, Brown University.]

- ATKINSON, BASIL F. C., *The Greek Language*² (Great Languages, Vol. I): London, Faber and Faber (1933). Pp. 362. 15s.
- AUDEN, HENRY W., *Greek Prose Phrase-Book*, Based on Thucydides, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Plato: London, Macmillan and Co. (1933). Pp. 122. 4s.
- BACON, BENJAMIN W., *Gospel of the Hellenists*, Edited by Carl H. Kraeling: New York, Henry Holt and Co. (1933). Pp. xii + 432. \$4.
- BILLETT, ROY O., *Provisions for Individual Differences, Marking, and Promotion* (United States Department of the Interior, Office of Education Bulletin, 1932, No. 17, National Survey of Secondary Education Monograph No. 13): Washington, United States Government Printing Office (1933). Pp. xii + 472. \$0.40.
- BRAGINTON, MARY V., *The Supernatural in Seneca's Tragedies: Menasha*, Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing Co. (1933). Pp. 98.
- BREASTED, JAMES H., *Rise of Man and Modern Research* (Publication No. 3206): Washington, Smithsonian Institution (1933). Gratis.
- BUCKLER, W. H., and ROBINSON, DAVID M., *Sardis*, Vol. VII, Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Part I (Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis): Leyden, E. J. Brill (1932). Pp. ii + 198 + 13 plates. 20 glds.
- CONWAY, ROBERT SEYMOUR, *Ancient Italy and Modern Religion* (Hibbert Lectures for 1932): New York, Macmillan Co.; Cambridge, England, University Press (1933). Pp. xiv + 150. \$3.50.
- Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. XIII, Inscriptiones Trium Galliarum et Germaniarum Latinae, Pars 6, Signacula Publice Laterculis Impressa, Edidit Ernestus Stein: Berolini, W. de Gryter et Soc. (1933). Pp. viii + 179.
- Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, United States of America, Fascicule 3; University of Michigan, Fascicule 1, by Wilhelmina van Ingen: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1933). Pp. 84 + 48 plates. \$3.
- CUTHBERTSON, STUART and LULU L., *The Cuthbertson Verb Wheels*

¹ Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, Columbia, Mo.

- (Latin, French, Spanish, and German): Boulder, Extension Division, University of Colorado (1933). \$0.35. De luxe, \$1.
- DAVIS, WILLIAM H., *Greek Papyri of the First Century*: New York, Harper and Bros. (1933). Pp. 114. \$2.
- DEWITT, NORMAN W., *Ancient History*²: Toronto, Macmillan Co. (1932). Pp. 312 + viii. \$0.65.
- DONAUER, FRIEDRICH, *Swords against Carthage*, Translated from the German by Frederic Taber Cooper, Illustrated by James Reid: London, New York, Toronto, Longmans, Green and Co. (1932). Pp. xii + 324. \$2.
- EDWARDS, KATHARINE M., *Corinth, Results of Excavations*, Vol. VI, Coins, 1896-1929: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1933). Pp. xii + 172. \$5.
- FITZHUGH, THOMAS, *Aristotle and the Aryan Voice* (Bulletin of the School of Latin): Charlottesville, University of Virginia (1933). Pp. xviii + 80. \$3.
- GOMME, ARNOLD W., *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*: New York, Peter Smith (1933). Pp. vii + 87. \$2.
- HASEBROEK, JOHANNES, *Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece*, Translated by L. M. Fraser and D. C. Macgregor: London, George Bell and Sons (1933). Pp. xi + 187. 8s. 6d.
- HATCH, WILLIAM H. P., *Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament at Mount Sinai*, Facsimiles and Descriptions (American Schools of Oriental Research, Jerusalem School, Publications, Vol. I): Paris, P. Geuthner (1932). Pp. 12 + 7, 78 plates. Fr. 150.
- HOLMES, SIR CHARLES, *Raphael and the Modern Use of the Classical Tradition*: New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. (1934). Pp. 136. \$2.50.
- JOHNSTON, MARY, *Exits and Entrances in Roman Comedy* (Plautus and Terence). Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University: Geneva, New York, W. F. Humphrey Press (1933). Pp. viii + 152.
- LAW, HELEN H., *Bibliography of Greek Myth in English Poetry* (Bulletin 27): New York, Service Bureau for Classical Teachers (1932). Pp. 36. \$1.
- MOHR, LOUISE M., WASHBURN, C. W., and BEATTY, W. W., *Greeks and Persians of Long Ago*: Chicago, Rand, McNally and Co. (1933). Pp. 288. \$0.80.
- MURISON, ALEXANDER F., *Homer's Iliad*, Books I to XII, Rendered into English Hexameters: New York, Longmans, Green and Co. (1933). \$3.50.
- NEWELL, EDWARD T., *The Fifth Dura Hoard* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 58): New York, American Numismatic Society (1933). Pp. 14. \$1.